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Preface

Hebrew, Aramaic, Yiddish and Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts, part of the handwritten legacy of just four important Jewish languages, are considered to be invaluable documents and artefacts of Jewish culture and history. Looking back at an impressive history of modern scholarship starting with Leopold Zunz and Moritz Steinschneider in the 19th century (among several others), it is evident that research on Jewish manuscripts has grown continually and is progressing particularly rapidly today.

In 1897, Moritz Steinschneider wrote the following in the introduction to his book *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften, deren Sammlungen und Verzeichnisse*:

Das Gebiet, das wir im Auge haben, ist groß und weit, und wollten wir zu Anfang ein kleines Bild aufrollen, so könnte es uns wie Mose ergehen, dass wir das gelobte Land schauen, aber nicht hineinkommen. (p. 1)

The area we are looking at is large and broad, and if we wanted to examine just a small part [of it] initially, we could easily find ourselves in the same situation as Moses, looking across the Promised Land, but not being able to enter it. (p. 1)

Steinschneider did enter this land, however, and so did numerous scholars after him (and still do today). The largesse and dazzling array of this land – of the material and intellectual history of Jewish manuscript cultures from Antiquity to the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period – continue to exert their fascination upon us today.

This volume is dedicated to the topics, methods and questions that are currently the focus of attention among the international scholars who are studying Jewish manuscripts. The case studies assembled here investigate paradigmatically subjects like cataloguing and editing, codicology and palaeography, manuscript forms and manufacturing techniques, patrons, collectors and censors, cultural exchange between Christians and Jews, manuscript collections and collections of printed books, illuminations and fragments of manuscripts, and, last but not least, new methods of material analysis that are now being applied to manuscripts.

In autumn 2014, a conference entitled *Research on Hebrew Manuscripts: Status quaestionis* took place at SFB 950 Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa/Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg, generously funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). It was jointly organised with the Institute for Jewish Philosophy and Religion, University of Hamburg. I would particularly like to thank its director Giuseppe Veltri for his part in this event. The present volume comprises sixteen of twenty-

five papers read at the conference, in addition, Ingrid Kaufmann and Hanna Liss contributed articles. Those sixteen papers were classified into five subject areas: Codicology and Palaeography, Editing, Manuscript Collections, Materials Studies and Cultural Studies.

Codicology and Palaeography are covered in four of the contributions. A paper by Javier del Barco commences the volume by providing a critical historical appraisal of the tasks and purposes of cataloguing Hebrew manuscripts. The author goes beyond providing a mere description of the state of the art by outlining some new perspectives for classical codicology and palaeography based on two examples. These fundamental methodological reflections are followed up by three papers focusing on different groups of manuscripts that pose codicological, palaeographic and cultural questions. The outcomes of these studies establish new links between the local production of manuscripts, scribal characteristics and sociological parameters. In the first paper, Emanuel Tov looks at the scribal peculiarities and specific codicological characteristics of ancient scrolls found in the Judean Desert. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger then examines fragments found in the Cairo Geniza, presenting a new perspective on the use of the scroll and codex, two different forms of books used in Jewish communities in the Mediterranean Near East (Egypt, Palestine, Babylonia) in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. The article written by Hanna Liss is concerned with a mediaeval Ashkenazic manuscript known as the *Regensburg Pentateuch*, an exceptional document whose paratextual *masora* and *tagin* (decorative strokes on letters) refer to esoteric teachings of the German Pietists (*haside ashkenaz*).

The section on Editing is represented by two articles. Both of the authors, Diana Matut and Andreas Lehnardt, focus on questions concerning the editing of manuscript texts. While Andreas Lehnardt describes editing a binding fragment containing parts of an unknown mediaeval mystical text and consequently sheds some light on the esoteric tradition of the German Pietists in the process, Diana Matut delineates the history of interest in Yiddish manuscripts and texts, both among Christian and Jewish scholars, which led to early prints and the publishing of scholarly editions of Hebrew works. Both articles illuminate the tension and relationship between the manuscript as the support of a text on the one hand and the independent cultural artefact that a manuscript is on the other hand. They also illustrate the difficulty in doing both sides justice when editing a manuscript text.

In the following section, Collections, four contributions have been included that focus on Hebrew manuscripts owned by Christians, thereby opening up a history of persecution and destruction, but at the same time revealing a certain degree of intellectual collaboration between Jews and Christians. In between all the positive and negative encounters stand Jewish manuscripts – objects

of curiosity, of the thirst for knowledge and of fear and suspicion at the same time. Ilona Steimann discusses the pre-Reformation and humanist acquisition of Hebrew manuscripts by Christian collectors such as Hartmann Schedel, Petrus Nigri, Johannes Reuchlin and Caspar Amman, their motives for building collections and the ambivalence they showed towards the object they desired – the Hebrew manuscript – due to the basically negative attitude towards its producers and their scholarship. The humanist Johannes Reuchlin, who was a good deal more sympathetic towards Jews, his renowned collection of Hebrew books, which were scattered after his demise and have partly been lost since then, and its reconstruction are all subjects that Reimund Leicht addresses in his paper. Ronny Vollandt focuses on Jacob Georg Christian Adler, a scholar from Schleswig who studied Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic manuscripts and consequently became an early manuscript scholar and expert in Semitic languages. While investigating manuscripts and writing notes on them, he himself produced manuscripts documenting a history of scholarship worthy of research. Ilana Tahan had the aim of reconstructing the mysterious provenance of six Hebrew codices containing Kabbalistic, astronomical and philosophical texts that have belonged to the British Library ever since 1946. The trail she uncovers leads to Archbishop Jacques Nicolas Colbert to Bishop Charles de Pradel and to the Hebraist Jean Plantavit de la Pause – a historical puzzle that has only partly been solved so far.

The penultimate section on Materials Studies is opened by Ira Rabin, who outlines non-invasive methods of analysing inks and other materials used in Hebrew manuscripts, particularly regarding the treatment of animal hides to produce writing supports (the Dead Sea Scrolls) and the preparation of writing inks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. A second related article written by Zina Cohen, Ira Rabin, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger and Oliver Hahn presents some initial results of their investigation of mediaeval Cairo Geniza fragments. Both articles demonstrate the usefulness of near-infrared reflectography (NIR) and X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF) in determining the chemical composition of inks and the processing of writing supports such as vellum. The data these researchers have collected is intended to supplement the description of manuscripts based on Hebrew palaeography and codicology and to be used as a geo-chronological marker. Last but not least, Bill Rebigier provides an overview of the materials employed to produce magical manuscripts and artefacts, which were mentioned in magical literature written in Hebrew, both in theoretical texts and in practical instructions. He also tells us about the materials from which magical Hebrew manuscripts, amulets and other magical objects were created in reality.

The fifth section, Cultural Studies, contains three articles with a common denominator: the wide-ranging implications analytical methods and results have

when applied to the material layers of a manuscript, to the palaeographic and iconographic features of a given manuscript and to its testimony to reconstructing the cultural and social life of its Jewish producers, owners and readers. A specific kind of visual organisation is mentioned in one case, namely an Ashkenazic *SeMaQ* manuscript investigated by Ingrid Kaufmann. The history of censored manuscripts and the question of internal and external censoring is exemplified by two Halakhic manuscripts in the Hamburg Collection, which are presented by Gottfried Reeg. Methods of ink analysis conducted by Ira Rabin shed some light on the history of these censored documents. Finally, Katrin Kogman-Appel presents a methodological study on illuminated manuscripts, the hierarchy of textual and visual components and the three-way relationship between the patron, the artist (or rather, the illuminator) and the viewer that such a manuscript is at the centre of.

I would like to thank the various libraries that now own the respective manuscripts for their kind permission to reproduce parts of these valuable works here. I would also like to express my gratitude to the anonymous reviewers who peer-read the articles in this book. I am particularly indebted to Cosima Schwarke for her support when it came to editing the manuscript version of this volume and preparing it for printing. My thanks also go to Alexander Scheumann for proof-reading the articles, to Carl Carter for translating some of them and copy-editing others, and to Astrid Nylander for her precision in producing the layout so well. I thank Christoph Schirmer and Florian Ruppenstein of De Gruyter for their support and patience.

Finally, I would like to thank the editors for including the book in the series *Studies in Manuscript Cultures*.

Irina Wandrey

Javier del Barco

From the Archaeological Turn to ‘Codicologie Structurale’: The Concept of Codicology and the Material Description of Hebrew Manuscripts

Abstract: This article explores the concept of codicology adopted by generations of scholars who have studied mediaeval manuscripts since the mid-20th century. Several different methodological approaches are outlined – from the ‘archaeological turn’ to comparative and structural codicology, including quantitative and historical approaches. The study of Hebrew manuscripts is seen in the context of the development of these methodological approaches. Different views on how a Hebrew manuscript should be described and what a catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts should look like are outlined, including the approach that is currently being followed in a project involving the creation of new catalogues of Hebrew manuscripts kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France launched in 2007. The article also analyses two specific examples of Hebrew manuscripts where all these questions are relevant.

1 The archaeological turn

In 1950, François Masai published an article in *Scriptorium* that can be regarded as having founded a new perspective for studying mediaeval manuscripts and the related disciplines of palaeography and codicology. In his article, Masai asserts:

Il y faut soigneusement distinguer les disciplines historiques et les disciplines archéologiques. C’est parmi les premières qu’il convient de ranger, avons-nous vu, la bibliologie, la paléographie proprement dite et l’histoire de l’enluminure. Par contre la codicologie constitue une branche de l’archéologie. [...] Ce n’est pas la paléographie qu’il faut coordonner à la diplomatique, comme on le fait couramment, mais la codicologie. Tandis que la diplo-

This research is part of a collaborative project entitled ‘Legado de Sefarad II. La producción material e intelectual del judaísmo sefardí bajomedieval’, which is based at the ILC-CSIC in Madrid and supported by the Plan Nacional de I+D+i (FFI2015-63700–P).

matique étudie concrètement, expertise en un mot, les documents d'archives, les «*papiers*» des institutions et des particuliers, la codicologie expertise les *livres* manuscrits. Elles ont en commun d'être toutes deux des disciplines archéologiques, mais chacune possède son champ de fouille bien délimité [...].¹

The novelty of Masai's proposal is twofold. On the one hand, he advocates codicology's independence from palaeography, two disciplines that differ not only in their aims, but also in the methods they employ. This breaks with the tradition of palaeography encompassing not only the study of scripts, but also that of the writing surface and everything else that is analysed in order to date a manuscript.² On the other hand, with respect to methodology, Masai situates codicology – along with diplomatics – within the specific sphere of 'archaeological disciplines'. He denies codicology the status of a historical discipline and, therefore, the capacity for engaging in interpretation of data and its contextualisation within the history of the book in particular and cultural history in general.³ This clear positioning of codicology as an archaeological discipline, subject to a working method based on the demarcation and description of each stage in a manuscript's production, similar to the stratigraphic description of archaeological excavations, conditioned the evolution of codicology over subsequent decades.

Moreover, by placing codicology between archaeological disciplines, Masai challenged the link between the study of manuscripts and literary history formulated by 19th-century scholars (most of whom were German) and raised the question about the precise nature of codicology and its place among the historical and philological disciplines. Contrary to Masai's concept of codicology as an archaeological discipline, the study of manuscripts had been generally linked to literary history and philology up till the early 1930s.⁴ It was in the course that

1 Masai 1950, 292.

2 With the exception of the German tradition, in which the term 'Handschriftenkunde' was used for the material study of manuscripts and 'Paläographie' for the study of writing following the publication of Friedrich Adolf Ebert's *Zur Handschriftenkunde* (1825) and as a result of the influence of Ludwig Traube's 'Munich school'. See below.

3 See Muzerelle 1991, 349: 'Masai dénie catégoriquement à la codicologie le droit de se livrer à la moindre interprétation des faits qu'elle observe et l'instance avec laquelle il lui refuse la qualité de discipline historique.'

4 See Olszowy-Schlanger 2012, 260. Moritz Steinschneider, considered the father of Hebrew bibliography, declared in 1897: 'Der Inhalt dieser Vorlesungen [über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften, deren Sammlungen und Verzeichnisse] könnte als ein Bestandteil der Einleitung in die jüdische Litteratur angesehen werden', thereby establishing a direct relationship between the study of manuscripts and the study of Hebrew literature, Steinschneider 1897, 1.

Charles Samaran offered at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in 1934/35 that he advocated the independence of manuscript science from philology by defining the term ‘codicography’, which he understood to be parallel to ‘bibliography’, but with reference to the manuscript book. However, Samaran’s proposal was not as successful as he had hoped, and the term that eventually gained acceptance – ‘codicology’ – was coined by Alphonse Dain shortly thereafter to refer to the history of manuscripts and their collections, research on the location of manuscripts, their use, etc. In other words, Dain’s term does not include the study of material aspects of codices, which he assumed belonged to palaeography.⁵ At this point, the term proposed by Dain to encompass the discipline concerned with the history of manuscripts and their collections was taken up by Masai to refer to manuscript science, which was thought to be independent of palaeography and whose methods were subsumed under those of the archaeological sciences.

Léon M. J. Delaissé, who was one of Masai’s disciples and a follower of his proposal to understand codicology as an ‘archaeology of the book’, preferred to use the latter term instead of codicology to refer to the material examination of manuscripts. He understood it as ‘l’examen matériel complet du livre et l’interprétation des faits observés, par rapport au contenu’.⁶ Far from falling into disuse, the archaeological method in codicology gained renewed momentum at the end of the 1970s thanks to Léon Gilissen, considered by many to be the founding father of a genuine archaeology of the book. In the first of the two essays that make up his *Prolegomènes à la codicologie*,⁷ Gilissen takes up the study of what, archaeologically speaking, might be called a ‘site’ of twenty parchment manuscripts, and analyses the data on the composition of quires in detail, coming to the conclusion that a quire is not an accidental grouping of bifolia cut separately, but the result of folding an entire skin according to precise rules; this creates a complete quire. His method in this and other questions regarding the material production of mediaeval manuscripts has paved the way for a much more detailed understanding of the conception and techniques of mediaeval book production, including not only the preparation of materials and space for copying the text and images, but also their execution.

⁵ As has been said already, this was commonly accepted until Masai’s publications, except for the case of the German school (see above note 2). On the history of codicology up to the time of François Masai, see Gruys 1976, 27–33.

⁶ In other words, as an auxiliary discipline of either the historian or the philologist. See Delaissé 1956, 2.

⁷ Gilissen 1977.

2 Codicology ‘lato sensu’ and codicology ‘stricto sensu’

Since the beginning of the 1970s, various⁸ other voices had already been claiming that ‘codicology’ should not just be concerned with the ‘archaeology of the book’, but also with its history, usage and reception as a cultural and textual object. Two ways of understanding codicology as a discipline – two schools, one might say – arose as a result.

On the one hand, there is codicology ‘stricto sensu’, which adheres to the archaeological objectives outlined by Masai and his followers without venturing into questions beyond a material analysis and description of the object. On the other hand, we have codicology ‘lato sensu’, which approaches the manuscript as a historical, cultural and textual object and thus requires a degree of study that does not just focus on the material description of the object.⁹ Some scholars – mostly historians – understand that this codicology ‘lato sensu’ should be extended to include the production, use, transmission and meaning of a book in its historical and cultural context, whereas others – mostly philologists concerned with codicology – tend to broaden the field to include textual and literary criticism and the transmission of texts.¹⁰

Thus, the meaning of the term ‘codicology’ varies from one author to another, depending on the dialectic discussion about codicology ‘stricto sensu’ and ‘lato sensu’. Marilena Maniaci, for instance, states in her *Archeologia del manoscritto* which aspects of the history of manuscript books she will and will not be dealing with. Although she does not define precisely how she uses the term ‘codicology’, she does explain that ‘I materiali costitutivi, le tecniche di fabbricazione, le modalità esecutive e la presentazione del libro manoscritto fanno quindi parte

⁸ For instance, the late Charles Samaran, Ezio Ornato, and Maria Luisa Agati, among others. See below.

⁹ See Gruys/Gumbert 1976, 11; Dérolez 1973. See also the more recent work by Muzerelle 1991, 350 and Agati 2009, 35.

¹⁰ In 1976, Samaran had also adopted the distinction between codicology ‘au sens étroit’ and codicology ‘au sens large’, understanding the former to be the artisanal technique of the book. As for the second sense, it is interesting how Samaran relates it to the history of the transmission of texts and to textual criticism by defining it like this: ‘c’est celle qui ajoute à l’étude du livre manuscrit celle du livre imprimé, sa suite naturelle, et qui, outre les manuscrits considérés en eux-mêmes, ne néglige pas les textes que ces manuscrits représentent dans leur infinie complexité, manuscrits d’auteurs ou copies, contemporaines ou tardives, variantes, éditions successives, etc.’; see Gruys/Gumbert 1976, vol. 1, 9.

del territorio «naturale» della codicologia'.¹¹ In other words, it comprises all those elements that are related to the material production of a manuscript and its status as an object. Thus, in the connotation she gives it, which is similar to Masai's, Delaissé's and Gilissen's, the term does not include anything having to do with the history of the text and images except those elements that are directly related to the material dimension of the manuscript, particularly the physical interaction between the writing and the decoration on its pages – so it has nothing to do with textual criticism, with whether the book belonged to a private collection or a large library, with an overall analysis of the production or use of the book, or with issues involved in the conservation and restoration of the manuscript. Because of her conception of the archaeological nature of codicology, Maniaci's study is limited to the material aspects of book production and therefore ignores not only what is the proper subject of the philologist – the history of the text and textual criticism – and the restorer, but issues that concern book historians, such as the study of manuscripts as part of book collections, from their genesis and throughout their transformations, or the socio-economic and cultural aspects of a manuscript's production, use and transmission.

In contrast, Maria Luisa Agati, in her introduction to *Il libro manoscritto da Oriente a Occidente*, asserts that her understanding of the term is broader. According to her:

[...] la Codicologia, o scienza del libro manoscritto, è 'integrale': comprende una prima parte limitata, appunto, allo studio materiale del libro-oggetto/reperto (*archeologia*), per conoscerlo a fondo e comprenderlo, che [...] è importante per chi studia la storia del libro. Poi, però, guarda più lontano: non ignora l'interattività con le discipline filologiche e paleografiche, le quali costituiscono solo un approccio differente alla stessa realtà-codex; e neppure include aspetti come la trascrizione, la leggibilità, la decorazione, la storia delle biblioteche e, soprattutto, la conservazione e catalogazione.¹²

For Agati, then, in addition to an archaeological analysis of the manuscript, codicology includes some of the issues that Maniaci excluded from her manual, *Archeologia del manoscritto*, such as the study of palaeographical features, decoration and the history of libraries.

Because of this twofold understanding of the term 'codicology', its use generally has to be explained in all its nuances.¹³ Whereas the term 'archaeology of the

¹¹ Maniaci 2002, 10.

¹² Agati 2009, 22.

¹³ In a review of Gruys and Gumbert's *Codicologica*, vol. 1 (1976), from 1978, Emmanuel Poulle formulated his doubts about the precise lines of demarcation between the two approaches and

book' enjoys a degree of success and refers unambiguously to codicology 'stricto sensu', the term 'codicology', whose etymology refers to the study of mediaeval codices, continues to be used with different – and sometimes contradictory – connotations. Some understand it as a synonym of 'archaeology of the book', while others understand it as codicology 'lato sensu'. Even among the latter, the issues to be investigated by codicology vary – cultural and social issues for the historian, for example, and textual criticism and the history of the transmission of texts for the philologist. This creates grey areas and even some overlapping, such that explicit clarification of what is meant is usually called for when the term is used.¹⁴

3 The impact of quantitative codicology

In their foundational book on quantitative codicology,¹⁵ Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato complain that the historical study of manuscripts was usually understood as a secondary or elitist pursuit until the late 1970s: either as a tool for accessing intellectual history or, conversely, as a means for studying a small number of art objects – illuminated manuscripts – that are worthy of interest only because they are different from the thousands of more ordinary manuscripts. They advocate the study of just this multitude of ordinary manuscripts, which they call 'foule anonyme de manuscrits',¹⁶ applying the archaeological method, but with the objective of answering questions¹⁷ that go beyond a particular, isolated manuscript by means of quantitative analysis.

came to the conclusion that the codicologist would have to draw the boundaries of his or her own discipline: 'Ces distinctions [entre codicologie "stricto sensu" et "lato sensu"] sont sans doute fondées, mais, s'agissant de domaines voisins de recherche dans lesquels, le plus souvent, les mêmes savants se trouveront impliqués, il est probablement plus facile d'en faire état en théorie que dans la pratique. En fait, ce sont les codicologues qui arbitreront eux-mêmes ces débats de principes: le contenu de la codicologie sera, en définitive, ce qu'ils y mettront', Poulle 1978, 150.

¹⁴ Maniaci also echoes this ambiguity in the term according to the researcher's approach to the mediaeval codex: 'Va riconosciuto che la valenza scientifica e concreta del termine «codicologia» comporta non poche zone d'ombra, in quanto è ancor oggi oggetto di interpretazioni esplicite o implicite significativamente divergenti', Maniaci 2002, 9.

¹⁵ Bozzolo/Ornato 1980.

¹⁶ Bozzolo/Ornato 1980, 9.

¹⁷ Bozzolo/Ornato 1980, 9: 'Combien de livres a-t-on écrit à telle ou telle époque au Moyen Age? A quel prix? Par quelles techniques? Ce sont là les principales questions que nous nous sommes posées en essayant de replacer le manuscrit dans son environnement matériel.'

Inasmuch as codicology ‘lato sensu’ is understood by historians as a discipline that deals simultaneously with all aspects of the mediaeval book, from the nature of the materials used and the phases of material production to the modes of conservation, reading and dissemination, for Bozzolo and Ornato it is something very similar to the history of the book, which begins with a material – archaeological – analysis, but also assumes the prerogative to explore and respond to questions that were formerly seen as being the exclusive concern of historians and philologists.¹⁸

When explaining the title of the book *La face cachée du livre médiéval*, a collection of articles by Ornato and his colleagues and friends, the former defines the two ‘faces’ of a manuscript, which must be dealt with by codicologists and book historians:

[...] à l’égal de la lune, le livre a deux faces. L’une, éclairée, placée en quelque sorte «au beau milieu du ciel», correspond à ce qui est habituellement regardé ou lu: le texte, l’écriture, la décoration, les illustrations, la reliure; l’autre, obscure, est reléguée à l’arrière-plan et n’est pas consciemment perçue – à la limite parce qu’on voulait qu’il en fût ainsi – ni par le lecteur ni, ce qui est plus regrettable, par le spécialiste du livre médiéval. Dans cette catégorie, il faut ranger d’une part des éléments internes au livre, tels que la « charpente du texte » qui soutient la lecture, les pratiques artisanales ou graphiques peu apparentes, les défauts, les négligences ou les incohérences de tout genre [...] De l’autre, des éléments externes, à savoir les aspects culturels, économiques, sociologiques et technologiques qui, en interagissant sans cesse avec la fonction fondamentale du livre – assurer bien et vite la transmission de la culture – conditionnent la structure, la présentation et, finalement, l’évolution de ce dernier.¹⁹

In this quote, Ornato articulates a fundamental idea in his understanding of codicology, namely that the study of the ‘inner’ part of the manuscript – the material and technological aspects of book production – cannot be separated from the ‘exterior’ part – the socio-cultural and economic aspects – because the latter has a decisive influence on the design of the former.

The obligation to take up the exterior study of manuscripts leads him to defend a quantitative method. This method denies the importance of any individual manuscript and instead seeks quantifiable elements from among ‘la foule anonyme de manuscrits’ that can be subject to comparison and examination

18 In the words of Ornato, a codicology ‘qui soit tout le contraire d’une “science auxiliaire”, notion de plus en plus souvent condamné mais encore bien vivante dans les mœurs, les institutions et même les esprits’. See Ornato/Bozzolo 1982, 267. Cited in Armando Petrucci, ‘Prefazione’, in Ornato 1997, vii.

19 Ornato 1997, xiii.

and can therefore provide an idea of the economic and cultural determinants of manuscript production at a particular time and place, or conversely, throughout a longer period of time. As a result, Ornato and his school of followers consider codicology to be an independent and autonomous discipline within the historical sciences, at the same level as other specialisations and not subservient to any of them.

At this point, it is obvious that, in spite of the fact that Ornato also understands codicology as something more than the archaeological study of manuscripts, his methodological approach is radically different from what other authors have understood as codicology 'lato sensu': for Ornato, it is not a matter of carrying out an integral study of a particular codex (medium, palaeography, illumination, history, function), but of formulating questions about the production of mediaeval books in general (selection of materials, fabrication of quires, number of volumes, prices, work invested, circulation) based on a statistical analysis of quantitative data drawn from a certain 'population' of manuscripts, selected according to chronological criteria, area of production, type of book, etc.

The quantitative trend begun by Ornato and his school for the study of Latin and Western manuscripts had a strong impact on Hebrew codicology, which was only just being established at the time. When Malachi Beit-Arié published *Hebrew Codicology* in 1977,²⁰ he had already researched the techniques used in the production of dated Hebrew codices, which were being catalogued by the members of the Comité de paléographie hébraïque,²¹ to which he belonged. In order to facilitate the study of mediaeval Hebrew book-production techniques in general as well as comparatively, given the wide range of geographic areas where Hebrew manuscripts were copied in the Middle Ages, Beit-Arié undertook the creation of a database (a novel endeavour for the time) containing the most-relevant data on the material production of each manuscript, which has been shown to be a powerful analytical tool.²² Although *Hebrew Codicology*, a pioneering work, focused primarily on questions related to technical aspects of the material production of books,²³ Beit-Arié soon foresaw the possibilities of his database for the field of quantitative codicology, as it had been formulated by Ornato, since it was pos-

²⁰ Beit-Arié 1977.

²¹ Sirat/Beit-Arié/Glatzer 1972–86.

²² This tool came to be known as *SfarData*, *The Codicological Data-Base of The Hebrew Palaeography Project*; see <http://sfardata.nli.org.il/sfardatanew/home.aspx>.

²³ Thus, the book's subtitle: *Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts*.

sible to ‘populate’ the database with enough manuscripts to be able to carry out analyses of a statistical nature and arrive at conclusions based on quantifiable data, although this data was clearly limited to Hebrew codices that had been dated.

Beit-Arié acknowledges his debt to Ornato in *Unveiled Faces of Medieval Hebrew Books*,²⁴ whose title is a clear homage – though in some respects an anti-thesis, according to Beit-Arié – of *La face cachée*.²⁵ In spite of the methodological differences with Ornato that Beit-Arié points out,²⁶ the essays that are included in *Unveiled Faces* leave no doubt as to their quantitative orientation,²⁷ and this is a course that Beit-Arié has continued up to the present.²⁸

4 Comparative codicology

Progress in the quantitative analysis of manuscript populations in both Latin and Hebrew areas and the development of codicology in other cultural fields such as Byzantine and Arabic studies soon prompted the question as to whether technological practices in manuscript production during the Middle Ages were shared by different language communities. This in turn led to the emergence of comparative codicology, a concept that takes its theoretical models and its methodological application from linguistics and comparative history. Comparativism arose as a methodology in linguistics during the 19th century once the filiation of Indo-European and Semitic languages had been established and a method for compa-

²⁴ Beit-Arié 2003.

²⁵ Beit-Arié 2003, 11: ‘My title’s seemingly antithetic reference implies of course a certain methodological disagreement [with Ornato’s methodology] and some differences in research procedure’.

²⁶ Beit-Arié 2003, 13: ‘[...] theirs [Ornato’s and his school] can be described as an epistemological, speculative, conceptual, analytical, and fundamentally deductive approach. My methodology and practice, on the other hand, I consider to be positivistic, empirical, and inductive, perhaps even phenomenological and tangibility-oriented’. This declaration by Beit-Arié seems to contain a certain methodological reaction against the historical relativism occasioned by the application of the so-called ‘linguistic turn’ in the historical disciplines.

²⁷ For example, ‘Technical Evolution: Ruling Manuscripts’, ‘Copying Dynamics: Line Management’, ‘The Structural Transparency of Copied Texts’. The book’s subtitle is revealing in this sense: ‘The Evolution of Manuscript Production—Progression or Regression?’, a question that can only be addressed on the basis of the assumptions and procedures of quantitative codicology.

²⁸ See Beit-Arié 2014. <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/manuscripts/hebrew-codicology/Pages/default.aspx>.

rative-historical study of the attested languages in each family had been devised, with the objective of reconstructing a common ancestor, Proto-Indo-European in one case and Proto-Semitic in the other.²⁹ But the more-direct examples of the development of comparative codicology are probably to be found in comparative history (particularly after the 1950s) and in the focus on non-European cultures driven by post-colonial studies.

Practically from the outset, comparative codicology pivots, on the one hand, around the development of the study of manuscript culture in 'Oriental' book traditions and, on the other, around the question as to whether it is possible to find universals in the material production of mediaeval manuscripts that would allow us to imagine the existence of a universal 'grammar' of the codex. This preoccupation has been formulated in linguistic terms,³⁰ as is in relation with the development of structural codicology (see below).

Hebrew manuscript researchers realised the benefits of comparative study of mediaeval manuscripts very early on, particularly in the Hebrew manuscript culture, which lacked its own codicological tradition and shared manuscript-production techniques with the dominant culture in which Jewish communities lived, be it Latin-Christian, Byzantine-Orthodox or Arab-Islamic.³¹ Beit-Arié declared in 1977 that 'Medieval Hebrew handwritten books reflect both Oriental and Occidental, Christian and Islamic civilizations. In Hebrew manuscripts, Latin, Greek and Arabic paleography and *Handschriftenkunde* might find a tool for comparative intercultural study',³² an idea that he would assert again later, considering Hebrew manuscripts to be intercultural objects that are specially suitable for comparative analysis.³³ Similarly, Colette Sirat, in her *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, asserts that 'The history of Hebrew manuscripts is a part of a wider history, that of Arabic, Byzantine, and Latin manuscripts, and it can only fully be approached in the context of the general and comparative study of contemporary manuscripts'.³⁴ The possibilities of comparative codicology were explored in a more systematic way from the 1990s at the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (I.R.H.T.) in Paris. In 1998, as a result of a round

²⁹ The use of this method was shown to be particularly fruitful with Romance languages, because unlike the Germanic and Slavic languages, both the source language (Latin) and the languages that were the result of its historical evolution were known, giving rise to Romance philology. See Tagliavini 1993, 47–51.

³⁰ See Maniaci 2002, 25; Beit-Arié 1993a, 5.

³¹ Muzerelle 1991, 362; Sirat 1998, 132.

³² Beit-Arié 2014, 9.

³³ Beit-Arié 1993a; Beit-Arié 1993b; in the same vein, more recently, van Boxel/Arndt 2010.

³⁴ Sirat 2002, 16–17.

table organised at the École normale supérieure in Paris, a volume of *Recherches de codicologie comparée*³⁵ was published which included contributions by Beit-Arié and Sirat on Hebrew manuscripts, and a few years later a manual was published that was intended to serve as a guide for cataloguers of Latin, Greek, Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts.³⁶ With a vast amount of territory still to be explored, the comparative codicological approach continues to give rise to ambitious projects³⁷ and, together with quantitative codicology, constitutes one of the two most widespread methodological approaches to the material study of mediaeval manuscripts.³⁸

5 ‘Codicologie structurale’ and the material description of manuscripts

In the last two decades, some scholars applying ideas and concepts directly borrowed from structuralist linguistics have explored the idea of understanding a codex as a structure within a system of cultural transmission in which the codex’s different components have a ‘morphological’ dimension – the identification of its constituent components – and a ‘syntactic’ dimension – the relationship between the different components, leading to the formulation of a ‘codicologie structurale’.³⁹ Like the archaeological approach, the structural study of codices is both synchronic and diachronic as it seeks not only to describe its constituent elements, but also to reconstruct the chronology of the object’s production. For this reason, the identification of a codex’s components, or morphology, also has a ‘genetic’ aspect, which relates to the origin of the components, and the study of

³⁵ Hoffmann/Hunzinger 1998.

³⁶ Géhin 2005. Participants in the Hebrew codicology section of this manual included Sonia Fellous, Jean-Pierre Rothschild and Monique Zerdoun in addition to Colette Sirat.

³⁷ Noteworthy contributions to the field of comparative codicology include the aforementioned book by Agati 2009, and Bausi/Borbone/Sokolinski 2015; the latter is the product of a cooperative research network financed by the European Science Foundation between 2009 and 2014 and entitled ‘COMSt: Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies’. Research in comparative codicology is currently the principle activity at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg, where various projects are underway focusing on manuscript cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe.

³⁸ Described by J. Peter Gumbert as ‘the two most striking modern developments [in codicology]’, Agati 2009, 14.

³⁹ On structural codicology, see Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013, which merges linguistic structuralism with the classic archaeological approach to the mediaeval codex.

the relationship between the components – their ‘syntax’ – has a ‘stratigraphic’ aspect relating to the succession of the different forms that the codex has taken and under which it has circulated.⁴⁰

The long-lasting impact of the archaeological turn and the more recent influence of structural codicology thus put the material description of manuscripts at the very heart of codicology. Johan Peter Gumbert, a pioneer in thinking about the material structure of mediaeval manuscripts, first formulated the concepts of ‘*unité codicologique/codicological unit*’ and ‘*césure/caesura*’,⁴¹ conceiving the former as ‘*une partie d’un livre résultant d’une activité qui peut être considérée comme unitaire sous le rapport du temps, du lieu et des circonstances*’⁴² and the latter as ‘*une limite de cahier qui est en même temps une limite de texte, de main et/ou de quelque autre aspect codicologique*’.⁴³ These two concepts were later developed by Gumbert and other specialists⁴⁴ and help to establish a stratigraphy or syntax of the codex, i.e. to identify the codicological units of a manuscript (formed by one or more quires) – which correspond, in cases where there is more than one unit, to different stages of production – and the relationship among them.

The problem becomes more complex in cases where the manuscript has been through several stages of production, suffered losses or additions, or contains discrete codicological units – with different texts – of diverse origin and diverse natures. Gumbert remarked on the lack of adequate terminology and a suitable typology for describing the various structures that codices can have in their present form, in particular for the composite codex,⁴⁵ and he has proposed a system of classification based on the concepts of ‘*caesura*’ (boundary or discontinuity) and ‘*codicological unit*’ mentioned above and the newer concept of ‘*block*’.⁴⁶ More recently, in a noteworthy effort at typological systematisation, Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart and Marilena Maniaci proposed a structural, stratigraphic and syntactical analysis of codices, including examples of the majority of possible material and textual anomalies that can be found in manuscripts,

⁴⁰ Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013, 7.

⁴¹ In Gumbert 1989: 4–8; cited in Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013, 14.

⁴² Gumbert 1989, 5.

⁴³ Gumbert 1989, 6.

⁴⁴ See Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013, 14–43.

⁴⁵ ‘Non-homogeneous codex’ for Gumbert 2004 and ‘non unitario’ codex for Maniaci 2004.

⁴⁶ ‘A block [...] is different from a codicological unit in not having a complete, independent text or set of texts; and this implies that their order is not arbitrary, being dependent upon the text order’, Gumbert 2004, 24.

making it possible to describe them and provide better answers to the textual and historical questions posed by the codices themselves.⁴⁷

These proposals aim for a structural, material understanding of codices in terms of their historical dimension and therefore also affect the understanding of the composition and transmission of texts. In his analysis of a 16th-century Bible manuscript in Arabic (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 1), Ronny Vollandt used the categories and terminology proposed by Gumbert to show that for codices that are thematically unitary and composed of multiple blocks, as is the case for the Bible he examined, structural analysis can reveal important facts about the process of its production, about the scribes and artisans who were involved in its production and about the selection of texts – in other words, about the final result as a book.⁴⁸

6 Sirat and the study of Hebrew manuscripts

So far, it has been clearly stated that the methodological approach is a fundamental determinant for how a manuscript is studied and how its description is written and configured as a means to serve as a kind of ‘intermediary’ between the reader of a catalogue and the manuscript itself.⁴⁹ Sirat, like Delaissé, Maniaci and others, understands codicology in the archaeological sense or ‘stricto sensu’, i.e. as the study of materials, forms and techniques used to produce a codex.⁵⁰ She considers it to be one of three disciplines that deal with manuscript books, the other two being, in her opinion, the history of texts and palaeography, or the history of writing.⁵¹ For this reason, Sirat makes a careful distinction between a catalogue of manuscripts, which should contain not only a material description, but also a textual and historical outline of the codex in question, and a codicological catalogue, which should only deal with a codicological description ‘stricto sensu.’ She also cautions against the prominence that quantitative codicology has conferred on ‘populations’ of manuscripts – since they are not representative

⁴⁷ Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013.

⁴⁸ Vollandt 2012.

⁴⁹ On the varieties and the history of manuscript descriptions, see the 2001 second edition of Armando Petrucci’s book *La descrizione del manoscritto: Storia, problemi, modelli*, which is an essential resource. A brief history of cataloguing and an analysis of the types of Hebrew manuscript catalogues that exist can be found in del Barco 2014, 333–50.

⁵⁰ Sirat 2002, 2.

⁵¹ Sirat 2002, 2.

for certain types of manuscripts – and on the summary of purely material features while forgetting that manuscripts are, above all, bearers of a text:

La codicologie [quantitative] explore les caractères matériels qui s'appliquent aux «populations» de manuscrits. [...] Ce courant de la codicologie pose cependant un problème de taille: dans notre domaine [les manuscrits hébreux], la méthode statistique s'applique mal au moyen âge; car, à défaut de pouvoir étudier la totalité d'un ensemble, cette méthode exige que l'échantillon examiné soit représentatif de toutes les parties de l'ensemble; or, ce qui nous a été conservé des manuscrits hébreux n'est sûrement pas représentatif de l'ensemble des manuscrits qui furent produits. [...] Un autre problème de la codicologie quantitative est qu'elle oublie quelquefois que le manuscrit est essentiellement un porteur de texte. [...] nous courrons le risque de donner une description trop minutieuse des caractères matériels du manuscrit et de confondre un catalogue de manuscrits avec un catalogue codicologique. La précision numérique rassure et donne l'impression que notre travail est «scientifique» de sorte que l'on aurait tendance à considérer que tous les caractères codicologiques doivent être relevés et que tous doivent l'être dans tous leurs détails. Or, au-delà d'un certain seuil, la minutie dans les détails n'ajoute pas de signification historique ; au contraire, elle retarde le travail du catalogueur et, en fin de compte, encombre le texte de la notice.⁵²

Sirat's approach to the study of manuscripts, therefore, coincides with what other scholars have called codicology 'lato sensu', even though she prefers to reserve the term 'codicology' for the description of the material elements that make up a codex and serve as a medium for writing. Hers is closer to a neo-historicist approach to understanding the text and the mediaeval codex in which it is transmitted,⁵³ which she considers to be a unique textual and historical object that must be studied in all the complexity of its forms and functions as well as in its cultural context. Therefore, the study of individual codices is essential, unlike in a quantitative approach, which seeks to identify general tendencies in large samples of manuscripts. For Sirat and her school, the history of the mediaeval manuscript book should be reconstructed from the sum of material, textual and historical peculiarities in each manuscript rather than from tendencies that are identified by conducting statistical analyses of selected material features within a sample of manuscripts.⁵⁴

For this reason, catalogues that follow the premises of quantitative codicology are clearly different from catalogues of manuscripts that follow a neo-his-

⁵² Sirat 2007a, 16–17.

⁵³ This issue is dealt with in more detail in del Barco 2014, 344–346.

⁵⁴ In Sirat's words: 'Because each of them is an individual, different from all others, every manuscript adds to our knowledge of the medieval world', Sirat 2007b, 27.

toricist approach. In his description of what a codicological catalogue should be like according to the quantitative method, Albert Dérolez explains:

Sur quels aspects un catalogue pourra-t-il donc porter? Puisque le bout est de faire la comparaison entre de nombreux manuscrits, seulement sur les données qui se prêtent à une description rapide sans équivoque.⁵⁵

By contrast, a neo-historicist catalogue accords equal attention to the material, textual and historical features of codices, highlighting the individuality of each manuscript under consideration, both with respect to its form (the material, textual and visual aspects) and its function (intellectually, culturally and historically).⁵⁶

Notwithstanding this fundamental methodological distinction, and regardless of the connotation that each use of the term 'codicology' implies, a material description of manuscripts is essential in either type of catalogue since it is the basis for all other kinds of textual or historical analysis. In this sense, the progress made in the archaeological approach to the study of manuscripts and the suggestions offered by comparative and structural codicology mentioned above have all contributed new analytical tools that have greatly increased the strategies at our disposal for resolving the textual and historical difficulties that each manuscript presents.

7 The comparative-structural approach: two case studies

In the following, I shall present two examples of the comparative-structural approach: one that demonstrates the appropriateness of structural analysis for understanding the historical development of a book⁵⁷ and another that demonstrates the relevance of studying the formal aspects of Hebrew manuscripts

⁵⁵ Dérolez 1988, 5. This is precisely the kind of catalogue that we find in Dérolez 1984.

⁵⁶ See del Barco 2011, VII–XVII, for the neo-historicist concept and method employed in the Hebrew manuscript catalogue at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which has been published in a series of thematic volumes ever since 2008 as part of a joint project by the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes du CNRS.

⁵⁷ See del Barco 2012 for this kind of approach to two miscellaneous manuscripts (one 'monomeric', the other 'homogenetic composite' in Gumbert's 2004 terminology), which are both kept at the Library of El Escorial.

using a comparative approach following the guidelines provided by Beit-Arié and Sirat mentioned above. By providing these two examples, I would like to suggest the usefulness of studying the material aspects of Hebrew manuscripts using a combined, comparative-structural approach. Both examples come from manuscript descriptions that are to appear in a forthcoming catalogue.⁵⁸ In the first manuscript, a historical approach requires a structural analysis first in order to discover the different stages in the material transformation of the manuscript and thereby address textual and historical questions. In the second one, what I want to show is that the study of the formal and functional aspects of Hebrew manuscripts cannot ignore comparative codicology or leave out a discussion of the dominant manuscript cultures in which Hebrew manuscripts were produced.

7.1 Paris, BnF, Ms. Hébreu 35

The first example is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Hébreu 35. This manuscript is an incomplete Bible containing two fragments of the Book of Numbers at the beginning, followed by the Psalms, Job and Proverbs, and finally Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles. The colophon, copied at the end of Ezra-Nehemiah (fol. 151r), reads:

אני יצחק ב"ר אביגדור כתבתי / זה העשרים וארבע לר' שלמה / בן הנדיב ר' משה שנת חמשת / אלפים וארבעים
וארבעה / לביריאת עולם

I, Yiṣḥaq, son of R. Avigdor, have written this [Bible containing] the twenty-four [books] for R. Shelomo, son of the generous R. Moshe, in the year 5044 of the creation of the world [= 1284 CE].

As previous descriptions of this manuscript have already noted,⁵⁹ the scribe originally copied a complete Bible (all twenty-four books) in 1284, but in its present state, the manuscript lacks most of the Pentateuch, the Prophets and *The Five Megillot* ('scrolls').

Since the extant parts of the manuscript amount to 216 folios, it is conceivable that the entire Bible might easily have had about 600 folios. As we are

⁵⁸ In a volume of the *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts* at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, in the Brepols series *Manuscripts en caracteres hébreux conservés dans les bibliothèques de France*.

⁵⁹ Zotenberg 1866, 4, no. 35; Sirat/Beit-Arié/Glatzer 1972–86, vol. I, no. 9; Garel 1991, 92, no. 61.

dealing with an incomplete codex, the first step in its analysis should be to collate the quires in order to find boundaries or discontinuities ('caesuras' in Gumbert's terminology) in the material structure of the manuscript that would indicate the transformation it went through from its original form to its present state. The manuscript collation yields the following results:

- Quire 1: IV⁴ (fols 1–4) [lacking the two external bifolia of the quire].
- Quire 2 to 19: IV (fols 5–12; 13–20; 21–28; 29–36; 37–44; 45–52; 53–60; 61–68; 69–76; 77–84; 85–92; 93–100; 101–108; 109–116; 117–124; 125–132; 133–140; 141–148).
- Quire 20: II (fols 149–152).
- Quire 21 to 28: IV (fols 153–160; 161–168; 169–176; 177–184; 185–192; 193–200; 201–208; 209–216).

Most of the quires are quaternions – quires consisting of four bifolia or eight folios – except for quire 1, which is incomplete, and quire 20, which is a binion – a quire consisting of two bifolia or four folios. Therefore, two main material caesuras exist, one involving quires 1 and 2 and the other involving quires 19, 20 and 21. In the first case, several folios are missing from quire 1 – the two external bifolia of the quire – resulting in a discontinuity between the end of quire 1 and the beginning of quire 2. In the second case, we find that two blocks of quaternions, the first consisting of eighteen quires and the second of eight, are separated by a different type of quire – a binion. Such a discontinuity should warn us about a possible caesura in the structure of the manuscript.

The second step in analysing the syntax of the codex should be finding any textual discontinuities that might exist. These should be found in boundaries between textual units that coincide with material discontinuities. For this reason, it is necessary to check the first and last pages of each biblical book in order to identify any discontinuities and compare them with the quire structure. Textual boundaries checked against the quire structure are as shown in the following table:

Table 1

Quire structure	Contents
Quire 1 (fols 1–4)	Numbers 9:6 to 13:19
Quire 2 (fols 5–12)	Numbers 14:40 to 21:23
Quires 3 to 20 (fols 13–152)	Psalms (fols 13r–70r)
	Proverbs (fols 70r–89r)
	Job (fols 89r–111r)
	Daniel (fols 111r–126v)
	Ezra-Nehemiah (fols 126v–151r)
	Colophon (fol. 151r)
	Blank (fols 151v–152v)
Quires 21 to 28 (fols 153–216)	Chronicles (fols 153r–216r)

This table shows that there is a clear textual discontinuity between quires 2 and 3: quire 2 contains a fragment of Numbers, while quire 3 starts with the beginning of Psalms. The discontinuity between quires 1 and 2, which was already indicated by the quire structure, is confirmed here by a textual discontinuity: two folios missing between quires 1 and 2 correspond to the lacuna of Numbers 13:20 to Numbers 14:39. Second, the end of Ezra-Nehemiah coincides with the material discontinuity between quires 20 and 21. Quire 20, the only binion in the entire manuscript, ends with a colophon followed by three blank pages, which is an unequivocal sign that this quire was the last one in the original codex. It is clear, then, that the end of the complete Bible when copied in 1284 CE was at the end of Ezra-Nehemiah and not at the end of Chronicles, as it is now. We have to conclude that in the original project the Chronicles were not meant to be placed at the end of the manuscript, but at the beginning of the *Ketuvim*, as is customary in many other mediaeval Bibles.

The loss of the Prophets and the placement of the Chronicles at the end of the Bible occurred at an early stage, it seems. A Latin foliation of the manuscript, dating from the 14th century,⁶⁰ is still visible on many folios, giving an idea of the manuscript's structure at that time. Following this foliation, as shown in the table below, it is possible to deduce which parts of the Bible were still present in the 14th century (the folios currently missing from the manuscript are in square brackets):

⁶⁰ I would like to thank Patricia Stirnemann (I.R.H.T, C.N.R.S.), who kindly analysed and dated the Latin foliation and Latin glosses present in this manuscript.

Table 2

Latin foliation	Folios	Contents
[I–CXXXVI]	[136 fols missing]	[Genesis 1:1 to Numbers 9:5]
CXXXVII–CXL	Fols 1–4	Numbers 9:6 to 13:19
[CLXI–CXLII]	[2 fols missing]	[Numbers 13:20 to 14:39]
CXLIII–CL	Fols 5–12	Numbers 14:40 to 21:23
[CLI–CCXXXII]	[82 fols missing]	[End of Pentateuch + <i>Megillot</i>]
CCXXXIII–CCCCXXXVII	Fols 13–216	Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah + Chronicles

According to the Latin foliation, the manuscript had 437 folios in the 14th century, which is twice the number of extant folios today. The Pentateuch was certainly not faulty, and the 82 folios missing between folios 12 and 13 today included the end of the Pentateuch from Numbers 21:24 and most probably the *Megillot* as well. The Chronicles, according to this foliation, were already placed at the end of the manuscript, as they are today. This analysis allows us to interpret what happened between the production of the Bible in 1284 and the 14th century, when the manuscript was already in Christian hands, as the Latin foliation attests.

To sum up, the analysis of the material and textual structure in this particular Bible suggests that the original order of the twenty-four books was the same as in other mediaeval Bibles: first the Pentateuch followed by the Prophets, and at the end the *Ketuvim* starting with the Chronicles, then the *Megillot*, and finally the rest of the books from Psalms to Ezra-Nehemiah as we find them in the present manuscript. At some point between 1284 and the 14th century, the codex passed into Christian hands and suffered the first loss: the entire section of the Prophets. At the same time, the Chronicles were detached from the rest of the *Ketuvim* and were placed at the end of the manuscript, as the Latin foliation attests. In a later stage, and before the acquisition of the manuscript in the 16th century by Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Master of the Royal Library in Paris from 1593,⁶¹ the codex suffered additional losses, including most of the Pentateuch and the *Megillot*. The changes in the textual structure of the manuscript are listed in the following table:

⁶¹ The Bible bears traces of its owners in the 16th and 17th centuries, before it entered the collections of the Royal Library in 1683: David Chambellan (d. in 1516), dean of Notre Dame de Paris; Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), Master of the Royal Library; and finally, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), one of Louis XIV's principal ministers.

Table 3

1284	14 th century	16 th century – present
Pentateuch	Pentateuch	> Numbers (fragment)
Prophets	> ∅	
Chronicles	> [placed at the end]	
<i>Megillot</i>	<i>Megillot</i>	> ∅
Psalms, Proverbs, Job	Psalms, Proverbs, Job	Psalms, Proverbs, Job
Daniel	Daniel	Daniel
Ezra-Nehemiah	Ezra-Nehemiah	Ezra-Nehemiah
	+ Chronicles	Chronicles

Further interpretation of palaeographic data may suggest a reason for such an early acquisition of the manuscript – the beginning of the 14th century – by the Christians. Michel Garel has described the script of the biblical text as characteristically English, linking the change of owner at the end of the 13th century with the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290.⁶² However, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, doubting the English character of the script, chose not to include this manuscript in her book on English manuscripts from the Middle Ages.⁶³ I therefore suggest that the codex is probably French rather than English, and that the confiscation of the Bible by Christians should be explained in relation to the first expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306.

Recognising the original form of a codex and its structural transformations is crucial to the interpretation of textual and historical questions, as we have just seen in the previous example. It is also essential for defining a manuscript's function in the original context of its production. Special attention should be paid to certain formal features such as the selection of texts, variation in book order, arrangement of the page layout, the presence or absence of sections, subsections and titles, and the book's size. In the case of the Hebrew Bibles, these should also be taken into account in addition to other elements such as the presence or absence of the Masora, the selection of other texts such as the Targum, plus any mediaeval commentaries, grammatical works and liturgical texts that have been

⁶² 'La graphie caractéristique de l'hébreu et l'écriture des gloses latines contemporaines de la copie déterminent sans conteste une origine insulaire [anglais] du codex', Garel 1991, 92, no. 61.

⁶³ 'L'écriture latine semble postérieure au XIII^e siècle, et il est difficile de trouver des arguments convaincants pour conclure que ce manuscrit ait été copié en Angleterre ou même qu'il s'y soit trouvé avant 1290' Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 43. Furthermore, according to Patricia Stirnemann, the Latin foliation and other annotations and Latin glosses are certainly French and from the mid-14th century.

added over time. The arrangement of these texts on the page and their relation to the biblical one is also a telling factor reflecting reading practices, particular uses of the manuscript, and the patron's personal choices.⁶⁴ A comparative study of typologies of Western Hebrew Bibles and Latin Bibles is also a necessary desideratum, as it can help us to understand book typology in its geographical, chronological and cultural context.

7.2 Paris, BnF, Ms. Hébreu 33

A model for such a comparative study of typologies could be provided by the second example, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Hébreu 33. This manuscript, copied in northern France in the 13th century, is a very small Hebrew Bible containing, after the biblical books, a complete *siddur* according to the French rite.⁶⁵ It measures only 100 × 75 mm, and the text is copied in irregular quires – most of them of fourteen or sixteen bifolia – on incredibly thin parchment. An extraordinary case among mediaeval Hebrew Bibles, the format of the 'pocket' Bible was nevertheless extremely popular among Latin Bibles of the 13th century, produced mostly in Paris and in Bologna.⁶⁶ The kind of parchment, the size of the volume and the palaeographic characteristics of this Bible all suggest an imitation of 13th-century Latin pocket Bibles.⁶⁷ Moreover, the extensive use of abbreviations – a common scribal practice in Latin pocket Bibles – has its counterpart in this manuscript: the scribe abbreviated the text by writing only the first letter of each word in a section of Numbers, chapter 7, where most of every paragraph is a repetition of the same text.⁶⁸ This is a scribal practice that I have not found anywhere else in Hebrew Bibles and it makes sense when the surrounding French and Latin manuscript culture is taken into account.

Furthermore, the copy of a *siddur* following the text of the Bible in the same manuscript also has to be explained in relation to the surrounding 13th-century manuscript culture. It is exceptional to find the text of the *siddur* in a Hebrew Bible,

⁶⁴ David Stern has proposed the subcategorisation of mediaeval Hebrew Bibles into three types: the Masoretic Bible, the liturgical Bible and the study Bible, Stern 2012. This subcategorisation poses some typological problems in my opinion.

⁶⁵ Manuscript only described previously in Zotenberg 1866, 4, no. 33.

⁶⁶ See de Hamel 2001, 114–139, and Ruzzier 2013, 105–25.

⁶⁷ The connection between this Hebrew Bible and Latin pocket Bibles from northern France was first suggested and contextualised by Sirat 1991, 312–13; and 1997, 246–47.

⁶⁸ The section describes the offerings of the twelve tribes and belongs to the pericope *Naso*' (Num. 4:21–7:89).

but this infrequent practice in Hebrew manuscripts has its parallel in a group of 13th-century Latin Bibles, mostly from France and England, where a Missal – or a selection of texts for the Mass – is copied together with the biblical text.⁶⁹ Thus, it is most likely that this innovation in 13th-century Latin Bibles is behind the idea of producing a complete Hebrew Bible with a *siddur* in the same manuscript in 13th-century northern France.

8 Conclusions

The methodological proposals examined above and the examples that followed show comparative-structural analysis to be a powerful tool for historical and textual research on any manuscript that is not made up of a single ‘undisturbed codicological unit’,⁷⁰ in other words the composite codex, given that such an approach helps to distinguish its codicological units and the relationship between them; the codex that presents multiple blocks to which various scribes or other artisans have contributed, although it only has one codicological unit; and any other manuscript that has undergone any modification that has changed its original structure. Comparative study of the historical and cultural context also provides the necessary parameters for understanding the codicological and textual practices of Hebrew manuscript production in the late Middle Ages. In my opinion, it is therefore useful for descriptions of catalogues of Hebrew manuscripts to include a structural, or syntactical, analysis of the codices in question as well as comparative and contextual perspectives on them within the dominant manuscript culture.

⁶⁹ See Light 2013, 185–216.

⁷⁰ Thus in Gumbert 2004, 33, in contrast to manuscripts composed of codicological units that have suffered accidents (losses, whether intentional or unintentional, and additions, whether textual or material).

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Emanuel Tov

Scribal Aspects of the Manufacturing and Writing of the Qumran Scrolls

Abstract: The Judean Desert documents (often named ‘the Dead Sea Scrolls’) constitute the largest corpus of texts in non-lapidary scripts providing information about scribal habits in early Israel relating to biblical and non-biblical texts. They may be compared with other texts in Hebrew and Aramaic in non-lapidary scripts, especially the large corpora of Elephantine papyri and other Aramaic manuscripts from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. These two groups of documents are highly significant as comparative material for the present analysis; among other things, evidence shows that the manuscripts from the Judean Desert continued the writing tradition of the Aramaic documents from the 5th century BCE in several respects. For the purpose of this study, the following areas have been singled out from the many scribal aspects of manufacturing and preparing the Judean Desert documents: the local production of written material in the Judean Desert, special characteristics of the Qumran corpus, the reasons behind the scribal peculiarities of the Qumran corpus, internal differences between the Qumran caves, and chronological differences between the corpora.

1 Introduction

The Qumran scrolls from the Judean Desert (often named the ‘Dead Sea scrolls’) constitute the largest corpus of texts in non-lapidary scripts providing information about scribal habits in early Israel relating to biblical and non-biblical texts. These practices may be compared with other texts in Hebrew and Aramaic in non-lapidary texts, both contemporary and earlier, especially the large corpora of Elephantine papyri and other Aramaic texts from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. These two groups of texts are very significant as comparative material for the present analysis; among other things, evidence shows that the texts from the Judean Desert continue the writing tradition of the Aramaic documents from the 5th century BCE in several respects.

The Egyptian Aramaic corpus is significant as it is extensive and derives from an early period. It also provides various relevant parallels. However, the corpus of scrolls from the Judean Desert is much larger and its scribal habits were far more developed. As such, it constitutes the most important source of information on scribal habits for Hebrew and Aramaic texts from Israel prior

to the early Middle Ages, from which time the first documents from the Cairo Genizah originate.

A comparison of these practices with scribal habits seen in Greek texts from the 7th century BCE onwards is mandatory and therefore often undertaken. Furthermore, the analysis often leads us to the writing practices of even older cultures such as those of ancient Egypt, Ugarit and Mesopotamia. Obviously, one needs to be careful with such comparisons since the texts produced in these areas were written in different languages and often on different materials. Equal care needs to be taken in making comparisons with rabbinic prescriptions since these were written later than the texts from the Judaean Desert and only pertain to the writing of scripture and sacred documents.

For the purpose of this study, I have singled out the following topics from the many scribal aspects of manufacturing and preparing the Qumran scrolls, and in each of them, I have advanced the discussion beyond my monograph on scribal practices¹: (1) writing materials, (2) sheets, (3) scrolls, (4) ink, (5) ruling and guide dots, and (6) conventions used at the beginning and end of scrolls. Many additional topics could have been chosen in the realm of writing practices, such as divisions between words, small sense units (stichs and verses) and larger sense units, the special layout of poetical units, scribal marks, correction procedures, scripts, special scribal characteristics reflected in certain types of texts, and various scribal traditions.

Our description of scribal practices reflected in the documents from the Judaean Desert is as complete as possible now that these texts have all been published in their entirety. Use is made of several helpful partial analyses and descriptions by others, although they are often based on a limited number of texts.²

2 Writing materials

The texts from the Judaean Desert were mainly written on leather and papyrus, on individual sheets or in scrolls. There are no codices from this area; indeed,

¹ Tov 2004.

² The following monographs listed in chronological order are especially helpful: Kuhl 1952; Martin 1958 (this extremely detailed study is only based on the major texts from cave 1); Stegemann 1969; Siegel 1969; Siegel 1971a; Siegel 1971b; Oesch 1979; Oesch 1983; various contributions in Mikra; Steudel 1998; Crown 1983–1987; Lemaire 1992; Ashton 1999; Korpel/Oesch 2000; Kraft; Tigchelaar 2003; Alexander 2003.

codices only came into use after the period in which the Judaean Desert texts were written.³

The vast majority of documents from the Judaean Desert were written on leather and papyrus, the latter comprising some 14% of the Qumran texts, i.e. 131 of the 930 items discovered. In addition, a large number of ostraca were found, especially at Masada, but also at Murabba'at (Mur 72–87, 165–168), Naḥal Ḥever (8Ḥev 5–6), Naḥal Mishmar (1Mish 4–8), Khirbet Qumran (KhQ Ostraca 1–3) and Qumran cave 10 (10QOstracon). Only the Copper Scrolls from cave 3 were inscribed on that material; according to Lefkovits 2000, this was in order to solve 'the problem of ritual impurity'. Two texts were inscribed on wooden tablets: 5/6Hev 54 (PYadin 54)⁴ and Mas 743 from 73 or 74 CE (Cotton / Geiger 1989, 90.⁵ On additional writing materials used in this and earlier periods, see Lemaire 1992).

The use of different materials at the various sites in the Judaean Desert reflects the differences in genre among the documents found at these locations. The great majority of the literary texts included in the corpora found at Qumran and Masada were written on leather, while papyrus was used for most of the documentary texts, such as letters and various administrative texts found at Naḥal Ḥever, Naḥal Şe'elim, Wadi Murabba'at and the other sites. At the same time, in ancient Egypt and the Graeco-Roman world, papyrus was the preferred material for texts of any kind, and writing on various forms of leather was far less frequent.⁶

There is no direct evidence regarding the main writing material for long texts used in ancient Israel before the period attested by the Judaean Desert documents. Both leather and papyrus were in use in Egypt very early on, but it is not impossible that leather was preferred in ancient Israel because it was more readily available than papyrus, which had to be imported from far-away Egypt. Lansing Hicks therefore believes that leather was used for the writing of ancient biblical scrolls. One of his arguments⁷ is that a knife was used by Jehoiakim to cut the columns of Baruch's scroll exactly at the sutures since the text mentions that Yehudi cut the scroll after every three or four columns (Jeremiah 36:23). On the other hand, according to Haran, a few allusions in scripture suggest that papyrus served as the main writing material during the First Temple period, even though

3 On the transition from scroll to codex, see Roberts-Skeat 1983; Blanchard 1989; Resnick 1992; Gamble 1995; Epp 1997.

4 See Haran 1996 for a detailed description of these slates or tablets, one of which contains one of the Bar Kochba letters.

5 On the use of wood as writing material in the ancient Near East, see Galling 1971.

6 Also see Gamble 1995, 45–46.

7 Hicks 1983, 61.

no biblical papyrus texts have been preserved from that era⁸ and the Qumran corpus contains very few biblical copies on papyrus.⁹

2.1 Papyrus

Although literary works from the Judaean Desert were mainly written on leather, many papyrus copies of these compositions are also known to us, albeit probably without any distinctive features at the content level. Papyrus was considered less durable than leather, and the papyri from the Judaean Desert made a less professional impression (lines were less straight and no neat column structure can be observed). On the other hand, it was easier for scribes to remove letters from an inscribed piece of papyrus than from leather. Certain scribes may therefore have preferred papyrus, but the availability of the writing material was likely to have determined the choice of either papyrus or leather; in the case of the biblical texts, additional factors must have played a role as well (see below). It may be the case that papyrus was the preferred medium for private copies of literary compositions,¹⁰ mainly involving non-biblical compositions at Qumran, especially sectarian works.¹¹ On the other hand, Philip Alexander has surmised that the members of the Qumran community may have found it easier to obtain papyrus scrolls from external sources than to produce leather scrolls themselves during the early stages of their residence at Qumran.¹²

8 Jer 51:63 mentions the binding of a stone to a scroll so that it would sink in the River Euphrates. According to Haran 1996, this scroll must have been made of papyrus since a leather scroll would have sunk even without a stone. In support of this assumption, Haran mentions the Egyptian influence on Canaan in this period, which would have included the use of papyrus, the low price of papyrus in contrast to leather, and the biblical use of the root *מחה*, a verb signifying erasure of a written text with water. According to Haran, at the beginning of the Second Temple period, scribes started to use leather when the need was felt for the use of materials capable of containing longer texts. This need was not felt in Egypt, however, as papyrus was used for very long texts, too. See the discussion by Lemaire 1992 for further information.

9 Haran 1982.

10 Wise 1994, 125ff.

11 A similar suggestion was made by Khan 1990–91 for early papyrus copies of the Quran, described as ‘popular’ texts intended for private study.

12 Alexander 2003, 7.

2.2 Leather

The oldest known leather documents written in any language have been described by several scholars,¹³ referring among other things to an ancient Egyptian text written more than 2000 years BCE. As for the leather texts from the Judaean Desert, various technical examinations need to be carried out before the full picture is known; additional research is needed to determine from which animal skins the various texts from the Judaean Desert were prepared. In the meantime, partial evidence is available regarding calves, fine-wool sheep, medium-wool sheep, wild and domestic goats, gazelles and ibexes.¹⁴

It stands to reason that the approximate *length of the composition* was calculated before the writing was commenced; with this information to hand, the required number of sheets could be ordered from a manufacturer or be prepared to fit the size of the composition. Subsequently, the individual sheets were ruled and inscribed and only stitched together afterwards. The fact that some ruled sheets were used as uninscribed handle sheets (i.e. protective sheets such as the final sheets of 11QT^a and 11QShirShabb) and that some uninscribed top margins were ruled (the second sheet of 1QpHab, for example) shows that the ruling was executed as part of a separate process from the writing. The numbering of a few sheets probably indicates that they were inscribed individually, to be joined together subsequently in a numerical sequence (however, the vast majority of the sheets were not numbered). On the other hand, some sheets must have been joined together before being inscribed.

A further indication of the separate preparation of the individual sheets is the different nature of the two surviving sheets of 1QpHab. The first sheet (cols I–VII) contained regular top margins 2.0–3.0 cm in height, while the top margins of the second sheet (VIII–XIII) measuring 1.6–2.0 cm contain one, two or three uninscribed ruled lines. Since ruled lines are visible in the top margin of the second sheet while all other sheets from Qumran compositions have unruled top margins, it is evident that the manufacturer of this scroll used an existing ruled sheet of larger specifications than needed for the second sheet of this scroll; when preparing the scroll, he cut the sheet to the size required for the present purpose, cutting off the unruled top margin of that sheet and using the ruled area as the top margin. A

¹³ Driver 1954, 1; Diringier 1950, 35–49, 172–74; Millard 2000, 26.

¹⁴ Knowledge of which section of the animal a particular piece of skin comes from could improve the reconstruction at times. Elgvin 2004, 207, 211 uses this information as a basis for separating 4Q413 and 4Q413a.

similar procedure was followed for the first sheet of 4QDeutⁿ, the height of which was cut to the size of the second sheet.

There is evidence of the existence of rolls of blank papyrus sheets at Elephantine.¹⁵ These rolls consisted of sheets that had been glued together, after which smaller pieces were then cut off.

The calculation of the number of sheets needed for copying a composition could never be precise, as evidenced by the ruled column often left uninscribed after the final inscribed column of a sheet.

3 Sheets

Documents were written either on single pieces of leather or on papyrus (a sheet or a scrap of leather) or on scrolls composed of several sheets. Short documents were written on single sheets and in rare cases on scraps of leather; letters and other documentary texts written on papyrus as well as 4QTest (4Q175) written on leather were inscribed on single sheets, for example.

The shape of some documents is irregular (neither rectangular nor square, with uneven borders); it is likely that they were inscribed on remnants left after large rectangular sheets had been cut from the hides for regular scrolls. Thus, the irregular shape of 4QExercitium Calami C (4Q341) made it necessary for the scribe to shorten the last few lines in accordance with the slanting bottom margin. Likewise, most *tefillin* (phylacteries) and *mezuzot* were written on small pieces of irregularly shaped leather, which were probably remnants of skin left after rectangular sheets had been cut out. Thus in *tefillin* 4QPhyl J, the unusual shape of the leather necessitated the writing of long lines at the beginning of the text and very short lines at the end.

Scrolls consisted of sheets of leather or papyrus prepared by one or more scroll manufacturers, not necessarily in the same way. In addition, the sheets could have been ruled by different people for one of several purposes. These dif-

¹⁵ Cf. the description of the Elephantine papyri in Porten-Yardeni 1999, vol. 3, xiii: 'Fresh, rectangular papyrus sheets were not stored in a pile but were glued together along their length to make a scroll. In writing a document, the scribe detached from the scroll a piece of required size'. A similar remark with regard to papyrus production in Egypt was made by Emmel (1998, 35–43), who remarked that many of the single-sheet documents from Egypt include a seam, where two originally separate sheets had been overlapped and then glued together. In other examples from the classical world, individual papyrus sheets had stitches on both sides.

ferences account for the variations in the number of ruled lines on the individual sheets and in the practice of using guide dots (see section 6).

Sheets were ruled before being sewn together (Crown 2001, 76), and after being joined, the scribe or manufacturer must have made an effort to align the rulings on the different sheets in order to achieve a uniform appearance throughout the scroll; see most of the columns of 11QT^a, for example. However, when the columns were positioned at slightly different heights in *adjacent* sheets, the lines in these sheets often were not continuous. This practice explains the differences in height between the columns in the adjacent sheets of several scrolls, as in 4Q374 3 i and ii (unequal writing level and different number of lines in the same composition).

Sheets were ruled with lines from beginning to end, often with the help of guide dots. These lines were not usually spaced evenly, resulting in the same pattern of spacing throughout the sheet.

It was convenient to inscribe sheets before they were stitched or glued together (see below), and sufficient space was left for the stitching as a rule. However, in some cases, the sheets of some scrolls must have been inscribed after being joined together when almost no space was left between the last few words and the stitching (4QXII^a II–III).

Longer scrolls were composed of sheets of leather sewn or, in the case of papyrus, glued together (see below). The stitching was usually executed in such a way that the two sheets butted up against one another (without any overlap) and that they were joined by threads inserted through holes. The holes left by these stitches as well as the threads used for stitching are visible in many fragments.

Some sheets were not stitched to the top and bottom edges of the leather, but somewhat below the top or above the bottom edges of the following columns; see 4QcryptA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn (4Q298) and 11QT^a. This practice resembles the later rabbinic instruction for texts of scripture:

An area should be left unstitched at the top and at the bottom of the sheets so that the scroll does not get torn in use (*Soferim* 2.18; cf. b. *Megilla* 19b and y. *Megilla* 1.71d).

On the other hand, in most preserved scrolls, the stitching extended to the top and/or bottom edges of the leather, for example 1QIsa^a I (bottom), III–IV, XV–XVI, XIX–XX (all: top and bottom), etc.

Only one document is known in which three tiny fragments of leather (each only containing four lines) were stitched together one above the other (rather than adjacent to each other horizontally), namely 4QIncantation (4Q444; DJD XXIX, pl. XXVI).

Papyrus sheets (kollemata, sg. κόλλημα) were glued together with an adhesive.¹⁶

According to rabbinic prescriptions, scroll sheets are to be joined with sinews of the same ritually clean cattle or wild animals from which the scroll itself was prepared. Cf. *b. Menahot 31b* ('only with sinews, but not with thread') and *Soferim 1.1* (see further *y. Megilla 1.71d*):

It is also an oral prescription delivered to Moses at Sinai that scrolls shall be written on the skins of ritually clean cattle or ritually clean wild animals, and be sewn together with their sinews.

The evidence suggests that most of the stitching material used in the scrolls from Qumran does indeed consist of sinews. However, further investigation should be able to determine which threads were made of animal sinews and which of flax, in the latter case contrary to rabbinic custom. Poole and Reed claimed that the stitching material which they examined was of vegetable origin and most probably derived from flax.¹⁷ Which scrolls were specifically examined for this purpose is not known, however.

4 Scrolls

Documents with more than one column were contained in scrolls (rolls) composed of sheets of leather or papyrus.¹⁸ Each scroll from the Judaean Desert contained but a single unit (composition, document),¹⁹ although some exceptions are recognised when different but possibly related compositions in the same scroll may have been written by one and the same scribe or by two others, e.g. 4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer (4Q448); the different components in this scroll (cols I and II–III) are not necessarily related to one another.

¹⁶ Lewis 1974, 12–13, 38–41, 47–49.

¹⁷ Poole/Reed 1962, 22.

¹⁸ Very little is known about papyrus scrolls deposited in the Judaean Desert as no complete scrolls have been preserved. Egyptian papyrus scrolls were strengthened with a reinforcement strip at the beginning and/or end.

¹⁹ Conversely, each ancient text was once written in a single scroll (although longer documents would have been written in more than one scroll). This applies to the individual books of the Bible, even to the books of the Minor Prophets, which were combined into a single unit (scroll) at a later stage; see Haran 1984. In a later period, however, when larger scrolls were in use, several units were combined into one scroll (the Minor Prophets, the Tora, Former Prophets).

Scrolls of all sizes could be unrolled easily (ללל, e.g. m. *Yoma* 7:1; m. *Soṭa* 7:7; πτύσσω Luke 4:17) and rolled back to the beginning again (ἀναπτύσσω Luke 4:20)²⁰ upon completion of the reading, thus ensuring that the first sheet of the scroll or its uninscribed handle sheet remained the outer layer. By the same token, when a reader had reached the middle section of a scroll or any sheet thereafter, upon completing the reading it was easier for the reader to roll the scroll up to the end so that he/she could roll it back again upon reopening the scroll.

Scrolls were usually rolled up tightly in order to aid preservation and economise on space. Due to the tightness of the rolling, a segment of the scroll sometimes left a mirror imprint on the back of the previous layer, which occasionally extended onto the front of that layer as well, as in 11QT^a, plate 58 (11QT^a col. LIII with a mirror imprint on the back of col. LIV).

Leather scrolls were *closed or fastened* in different ways:

1. Many scrolls were fastened by tying thongs (inserted in reinforcing tabs) or by strings around them. The thong was connected to a reinforcing tab attached to the scroll itself (only at the beginning of it) in such a way that the thong was tied either straight or diagonally around the scroll (as in 4QD^a [4Q266]). In only two cases have scrolls with attached reinforcement tabs been preserved, namely 4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer (4Q448) and 4QD^a (4Q266; see DJD VI, plates IVa–IVb and DJD XVIII, plates I and XIV).²¹ Many detached reinforcing tabs made of coarse leather differing from the prepared leather of the inscribed scrolls were found in the Qumran caves.²² In cave 8, archaeologists discovered sixty-eight reinforcing tabs of this kind, usually of coarse leather, along with the remains of five manuscripts. This cave probably housed a leather workshop or depository unless it originally contained an equal number of scrolls and reinforcing tabs and many of the former subsequently disintegrated. Although only two thongs have been found attached to scrolls, there is still much evidence of their use due to the imprint of thongs or strings on the leather itself, which created a horizontal fold in the middle of most columns of 1QpHab, 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB, 1QIsa^a, 4QTest (4Q175) and 4QcryptA Words of the Maskil (4Q298).

²⁰ However, according to Snyder 2000, 281, Luke refers to a codex as πτύχες, which is the basic word for ‘writing tables’.

²¹ In the latter case, the one preserved specimen of this type has uninscribed areas of 3.5–4.3 cm preceding the first column and 9.0 cm following the final column, both folded for further strengthening before the thong was tied around the scroll (DJD VI, pl. IV; DJD XVIII, pls. I, XIV).

²² See Carswell, ‘Fastenings’, DJD VI, 23–8 and plate V and Sussmann/Peled 1993, 114–115.

2. Scrolls could also be tied by single strings or thongs not connected to a reinforcement tab; some of these strings could have been passed through holes in the leather of the scroll or a cover sheet. According to Broshi–Yardeni, DJD XIX, 77, the tiny fragment 4QList of False Prophets ar (4Q339) was folded and held together by a string passed through holes still visible on the fragment.
3. Several scrolls were protected by linen wrappings.²³ Remnants of wrappings detached from the scrolls were found in caves 1 and 11.²⁴ One section of a scroll was found in cave 1 still enclosed in its wrapper with the leather stuck to a shard from a broken jar (DJD I, pl. I, 8–10). The linen fragments of wrappings from cave 1 are both non-dyed and dyed, in the latter case sometimes with rectangular patterns.
4. In a combination of the aforementioned systems, some scrolls were both enclosed in linen wrappings and tied with a leather thong.

Little is known about the *storage* of scrolls at Qumran with certainty, but several details may be inferred from archaeological remains. Caves 1 and 3 at Qumran contained large numbers of cylindrical jars, several of which were probably used for storing scrolls (for an early parallel, see Jeremiah 32:14), while a smaller number of such jars were found in other caves and in Khirbet Qumran.²⁵ These jars may have been sealed with pieces of linen, as suggested by G.M. Crowfoot, but they were also closed with lids such as those that have been found.²⁶ Although it is not known which scrolls were stored in the jars, those found in cave 1 that had remained in a relatively good state of preservation, namely 1QIsa^a, 1QM, 1QpHab, 1QS, 1QapGen ar and 1QH^a, were probably stored in this manner. According to Pfann 2002, 169, n. 23, damage patterns on some of the scrolls show which scrolls were stored in jars. The scrolls in cave 4 were probably stored on wooden shelves attached to the walls, for which there is some archaeological evidence.²⁷

23 For a general description of such wrappings without detailed proof relating to archaeological evidence, see BÉlis 1997, 32.

24 For the former, see Sukenik 1954, illustrations 2 and 3; for the latter, see DJD XXIII, 431.

25 Pfann 2002.

26 Crowfoot, DJD I, 19, 24.

27 Scholars mention holes in the walls of cave 4a, but to the best of my knowledge, no detailed archaeological evidence of this has been presented yet. I am grateful to H. Eshel, who mentioned cave C north of the aqueduct as a parallel. In that cave, which he excavated together with M. Broshi, such holes indicated the presence of shelves in a closet-like structure (personal communication, June 2003).

5 Ink

To date, insufficient research has been conducted regarding the ink used in the documents from the Judean Desert, which were almost exclusively written in black ink, while red ink was also used in a few texts.²⁸ Scholars suggested and partly identified the existence of two types of black ink in Antiquity, but the pattern of their distribution in the scrolls is unknown:

- carbon ink, based on lampblack or soot
- iron-gall ink.

The fact that different types of black ink were used is clear from the differing states of its preservation. While the iron-containing ink has been preserved very well in most cases, on some scrolls it has corroded and eaten through the leather, often creating the impression of a photographic negative.

Red ink was used in four compositions, apparently mainly for new units:

- 2QPs: the first two lines of Psalm 103.
- 4QNum^b: the first line(s) or verse (s) of new sections.
- 4QD^e (4Q270) 3 i 19: the heading of a new section.
- 4Q481d, a composition of undetermined nature (named ‘4QFragments with Red Ink’ by E. Larson, DJD XXII): unclear circumstances.

Two inkwells were found by R. de Vaux in locus 30 of Qumran, the so-called *scriptorium*, one made of ceramic material and one of bronze.

6 Ruling, guide dots/strokes

Almost all Qumran and Masada texts written on leather had ruled horizontal lines in accordance with the practice followed in most literary texts written on leather in Semitic languages and in Greek.²⁹ Early parallels of different types allow us to assume that the earliest biblical scrolls must have been ruled as well.

Ruling in earlier times is evidenced by cuneiform clay tablets,³⁰ lapidary inscriptions and in some papyrus and leather documents written in various Semitic languages.³¹

28 On the types of ink used in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Diringer 1982, 544–53; on ancient ink, see Ashton 1999, ch. 3.

29 For a general introduction, see Leroy 1976 and Turner 1968, 4–5.

30 Driver 1976, 39–40.

31 Ashton 1999, ch. 6. The ruling of the Deir ‘Allah inscription from the 8th century BCE was described by Millard 1978, 24.

In contrast, Judaeen Desert texts written on papyrus were not ruled. *Tefillin* were not ruled either; see those from the Judaeen Desert and the rabbinic prescriptions in b. *Menaḥot* 32b; b. *Megilla* 18b. A few Qumran texts were not ruled either: 4QJer^c, 4QCant^b.

Most scribes writing on any material needed some form of graphical guide for their writing. This was provided by horizontal ruling (scoring) for the individual lines and vertical ruling for the beginning and/or end of the columns. The ruling was sometimes applied with the aid of guide dots/strokes or with a grid-like device (see 4QpsEzek^c [4Q385b] and 11QT^a), while in other instances no aid was used at all.

The technique of ruling prescribed by Talmudic sources for sacred scrolls is named שרטוט (*shirṭuṭ*; b. *Shabbat* 75b; b. *Megilla* 18b). In Palestinian texts, it is referred to as מסרגלין בקנה, 'one rules with a reed' (y. *Megilla* 1.71d; *Soferim* 1.1).

The first step in preparing scrolls for writing was that of ruling (scoring), which enabled scribes to write in straight lines. So-called blind or dry-point ruling was usually performed with a pointed instrument (no such instruments have been preserved, however). This was probably a bone, which made a sharp crease in the leather, allowing the latter to be split in two easily and even broken off if desired (e.g. 1QapGen ar XXI–XXII; 1QIsa^a XXXVIII, XLVI11; 11QT^a [11Q19] XVIII, XXII). It is unclear why some sheets in the mentioned scrolls are split more than others; differences in material, ways of preparing the skin or the physical force used to produce these rulings possibly account for such variations.

A few manuscripts were ruled with diluted ink, such as 4QS^b 4QD^{b,c,d,e,f}. In the few Qumran documents that were not ruled at all, the distance between the lines is irregular and the writing is not straight. The most frequently used system of vertical ruling was employed at both the beginning (right-hand side) and end (left-hand side) of the column. The vertical margin line at the end of a column and the vertical line to the right of the following column indicate the structure of the columns and the intercolumnar margin. Usually the vertical lines are more or less perpendicular to the horizontal lines, creating a rectangular shape. In rare cases, the left line was redrawn. In texts written in the paleo-Hebrew script where words could be split between two lines, scribes were more consistent in not exceeding the left margin.

In a few cases, *double vertical ruling* was employed to the right of the column, especially at the beginning of the first column of a sheet. Ruling of this kind was performed with two dry lines spaced a few millimetres apart, while the writing started after the second vertical line. The technique may have been used for purposes of neatness.

The ruling may have been executed by the scribes themselves, but it is more likely it was applied by the scroll-makers, often with the aid of guide dots or

strokes (see below). They seem to have had no precise knowledge of the text to be inscribed, which is indicated by discrepancies between the inscribed text and the ruled lines. The writing in all the scrolls from the Judean Desert was executed in such a way that the letters hung down from the lines.

In fifty-six or fifty-seven Qumran texts written on leather in the square and paleo-Hebrew scripts, single guide dots ('points jalons') or sometimes strokes were indicated with the purpose of guiding the drawing of dry lines. These dots or strokes were indicated in the space between the right edge of the sheet and the beginning of the first column, as in 4QDeutⁿ, or between the left edge of the final column in a sheet and the end of the sheet, as in 4QT^a? (4Q365a), usually at a distance of 0.5–1.0 cm from the edge of the sheet. In a few instances, they appear at a considerable distance from the edge of the sheet: 4QUnid. Frags. C, c [4Q468c; 3.0 cm), MasSir V (2.5 cm), 2QpaleoLev (1.5 cm), 4QRP^e (4Q367; 1.5 cm).

The guide dots/strokes were intended to guide the drawing of dry lines and were therefore inserted by those who manufactured the scrolls rather than the scribes themselves. Just as scribes often wrote beyond the left vertical line, they also wrote very close to these dots, on and even beyond them (e.g. 4QGen-Exod^a 19 ii; 4QIsa^a 11 ii). As a result, the amount of space between the dots/strokes and the left-hand edge of the writing differs from scroll to scroll and, indeed, within a scroll; it even varies between the lines in individual columns. In contrast, within a manuscript, dots indicated to the right of the column always appear at the same distance from the right-hand edge.

The employment of guide dots/strokes reveals some details regarding the preparation of sheets, although not their provenance. The use of guide dots/strokes is limited to a minority of scrolls from Qumran and Masada (MasSir only). Notably, none of the large Qumran scrolls had any guide dots or strokes in them. In the case of Qumran, a special pattern is noticeable. Among the documents containing guide dots/strokes, the majority of non-biblical texts – that is, nineteen of the twenty-six identified texts written in Hebrew – reflect the characteristics of the Qumran scribal practice. A connection between this system of preparing scrolls and the Qumran scribal practice is therefore likely, at least during a certain period. At the same time, another forty-three texts written according to the Qumran scribal practice do not seem to have any guide dots or strokes in them at all. This shows that scribes writing in what we call the Qumran scribal practice either used skins prepared elsewhere using a different convention or they themselves employed differing manufacturing procedures over the course of several generations.

7 Conventions followed at the beginning and end of a scroll

The partially preserved beginnings and/or ends of some eighty scrolls from the Judaean Desert provide us with valuable information on the content of these scrolls and the conventions employed at the beginning and end of them. In some cases, the extremities of these scrolls are recognisable because of conventions practised by scroll-makers and scribes (uninscribed areas, handle sheets, etc.), while in other cases, segments of the first or last columns have been preserved without such external features. At the same time, in the absence of any data regarding external features or content, it is sometimes unclear whether a specific column represents the beginning or end of a scroll.

Fifty-one biblical and non-biblical scrolls as well as two unidentified fragments among the Judaean Desert texts have been preserved with partially preserved *beginnings*. Titles have been preserved in the first words in the running text in fifteen *non-biblical* texts. In most of the other non-biblical texts (thirteen in all), the first few words have been lost. Since the opening words are titles in the vast majority of cases, it may be surmised that scrolls usually began with a title of some kind. Another twenty-eight texts preserve sections *near the beginning* of the book, indicating that at one point the beginning, rather than the end, had a better chance of survival.

The *ends* of twenty-nine scrolls from Qumran (i.e. 3.1% of all the scrolls) and two from Masada have been preserved. Out of all these surviving texts, the ends of seven biblical texts from Qumran (3.5% of all the biblical texts) and two from other sites have been preserved. In addition, according to E. Schuller, DJD XI, 121, the uninscribed fragment 32 of 4QNon-Canonical Psalms B (4Q381) may have been part of the final uninscribed sheet. Other texts preserve sections *near* the end of the book: 1QpaleoLev, 1QpaleoNum, 1QDeut^b, 2QRuth^a, 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l, 4QNum^b, 4QDeut^l, 4QpaleoDeut^r, 4QSam^a (2 Samuel), 5QLam^a, 6QpapKgs and MurNum.

Protective sheets were often attached at the two extremities of the scrolls in order to prevent the handling of inscribed areas by users and to protect the scroll. Not all scrolls with preserved beginnings or ends are mentioned below, since the area adjacent to the first or last letters in the column has not been preserved in several scrolls. Currently, lack of evidence does not allow us to state which system was used the most frequently.

7.1 Conventions followed at the beginning of a scroll

1. *Uninscribed area to the right of the first inscribed column.* At the beginning of the first sheet, the scribe often left an area uninscribed (in 4QGen^b, for example); this was always larger than the intercolumnar margin (usually 1.0–1.5 cm) and sometimes as extensive as a whole column. This particular custom was practised in Egyptian papyrus scrolls in which the blank area at the beginning of the scroll was often strengthened by a protective strip consisting of one or two layers.³² The blank area at the beginning of the scroll was generally unruled, although in nine instances the surface was ruled up to the right-hand edge. In scholarly literature, an uninscribed area of this kind is often called *page de garde* (e.g. J. T. Milik, DJD III, 171 regarding 5QKgs), but it is probably best to reserve that term for a separate sheet. This system was imitated in the Copper Scroll (3Q15), in which the first column was preceded by a handling area 6.0 cm in size.
 - a) *Large, unruled margin*
 - b) *Ruled margin*
2. *Initial handle sheet.* A separate, uninscribed handle sheet (protective sheet, *page de garde*) was often stitched before the first inscribed sheet; it is unclear whether a handle sheet was also attached to the last inscribed sheet in such cases. This was not the case in 1QIsa^a, while such evidence is extant at both extremities in 1QS and 1QSa. Remnants of an *attached* initial handle sheet have only been preserved in 4QBarkhi Nafshi^b (4Q435); in all the other instances, the evidence is indirect, indicated by stitch holes at the right-hand edge of the leather of the first inscribed sheet.
 - Similar initial sheets from the tradition of making ancient Greek and Latin manuscripts were known as a *protocollon* (πρώτοκολλον), which is the initial glued sheet of a scroll, both inscribed and uninscribed:
 - 1QIsa^a: an initial margin of 1.3 cm preceded by a handle sheet (indicated by stitch holes). The handle sheet was apparently seen by Metropolitan Samuel when it was still connected to the scroll. Fragments of this protective sheet are preserved in the Schøyen collection in Oslo, Norway (DJD XXXII).
3. *Uninscribed area preceded by a handle sheet.* In a combination of both systems, the first inscribed column was – probably rarely – preceded by a large, uninscribed area as well as by a handle sheet. The texts in this category are also mentioned in group 1.

³² Černý 1952, 19.

- 1QS: initial (ruled) margin of 2.8–3.0 cm preceded by a handle sheet (stitch holes). A section of this protective sheet with the title on the verso has been preserved (1Q28).
- 1QSa: initial margin of 2.1 cm preceded by a handle sheet (stitch holes).
- 4. *No indication.* In one case, the beginning of a scroll was not indicated by any external system whatsoever.

7.2 Conventions followed at the end of a scroll

The final column was usually ruled beyond the last inscribed line as far as the end of the column, as in 1QpHab, 1QIsa^a, 4QText with a Citation of Jubilees (4Q228), 4QCal Doc/Mish B (4Q321), 11QtgJob and 11QPs^a. Beyond the last inscribed column, the end of the scroll was indicated in one of the following ways:

1. *Uninscribed area.* The final column was often followed by an uninscribed area (with no handle sheet attached), which was either unruled or ruled, often as much as the width of a complete column; see 1QpHab, 4QMMT^f (4Q399 [probably]), 11QpaleoLev^a, 11QPs^a and 11QtgJob. The unstitched vertical edge of a scroll has often been preserved, but in other cases such evidence is lacking. A handle sheet may have been attached in such cases, but no scrolls with a large, uninscribed area at the end have been preserved together with an *attached* handle sheet. The fact that a scribe left such a large ruled area blank indicates that the precise surface area needed for writing could not be calculated when the scroll was being prepared.
2. *Final handle sheet.* A separate (ruled or unruled) uninscribed handle sheet (ἔσχατοκόλλιον) was often stitched in place after the last inscribed sheet, especially in the sectarian texts from cave 11 (note that cave 4 preserved twenty times more texts than cave 11). In several instances, the handle sheet is still attached:
 - 1QS: final margin of 0.0–1.0 cm (unruled) followed by a handle sheet, minute parts of which have been preserved.
 - 1QSa: minute final margin (unruled) followed by a handle sheet, of which an area of 0.7 cm has been preserved.
 - The high frequency of texts from cave 11 in this group is striking. With the exception of 11QpaleoLev^a, all the Qumran texts preserving a final handle sheet are sectarian and were copied according to the Qumran scribal practice. The preservation of a large number of scroll ends reveals favourable storage conditions in cave 11, while the preponderance of handle sheets among the cave 11 scrolls reflects a specific type of preparation of the scrolls (sectarian scrolls in this case). The existence of such separate uninscribed end-sheets

is paralleled by sheets at the beginning of scrolls, although only in the case of 1QS and 1QSa has actual evidence of such handle sheets been preserved at both ends. All the examples of final handle sheets pertain to leather scrolls, and not to papyri.

3. *No indication at all.* Probably, very few manuscripts had no external system whatsoever for indicating the end of the scroll. One such case is 1QIsa^a, in which the unstitched vertical edge following the last column is inscribed almost up to the end of the sheet, rendering it necessary for users of this scroll to hold it by the inscribed areas. This resulted in the ends of lines 1–10 of the last column having to be re-inked.

Summarising the data for biblical scrolls, evidence of initial handle sheets being used has been preserved for two copies of the Tora (4QGen^g, 4QGen^k) and one of Isaiah (1QIsa^a), and there is indirect evidence of a final handle sheet being included in 11QpaleoLev^a and MasDeut as well. This evidence is in agreement with *Sof.* 1.8, according to which such protective sheets should be attached to both sides of the Tora scrolls and only at the beginning of the scrolls of the Prophets (note that 1QIsa^a did not have such a handle sheet at its end). In twelve other biblical scrolls, evidence of handle sheets once existing is either negative or absent.

In a few cases, it is unclear why the beginnings and ends were not indicated in any special way, while two different procedures were followed in other instances. These different approaches probably reflected the preferences of manufacturers and/or ‘librarians’ and were probably unrelated to the contents of scrolls. Various systems were used in manuscripts of the same work due to the fact that scrolls were manufactured by different people at different times. Thus 4QBarkhi Nafshi^b (4Q435) was preceded by a handle sheet, while 4QBarkhi Nafshi^a (4Q434) was not. In the case of the latter, there was almost no uninscribed area for handling the scroll when it was being unrolled or read.

The only evidence of the existence of *wooden bars* or *rollers* (עמודים, ‘*amudim*) for handling the scrolls pertains to 11QapocrPs (11Q11, ascribed to 50–70 CE) and the recently unrolled En-Gedi scroll of Leviticus (1st or 2nd century CE). These scrolls were rolled around a single bar (the main evidence of the use of single and double wooden bars for synagogue scrolls comes from a later period). See, *inter alia*, m. *Yadayim* 3.4; b. *Bava Batra* 14a; y. *Megilla* 1.71d; *Soferim* 2.5, all of which refer to a single bar attached to the end of a non-Tora scroll and two bars for the Tora scrolls, each attached to one of the extremities (y. *Megilla* 1.71d). Bars of this kind (wooden or bone sticks) are also known from the classical world, where they were named ὀμφαλοί, or *umbilici*. In the synagogue, ‘*amudim* became an integral part of sacred scrolls.

Abbreviations

- DJD I Barthélemy, D. / Milik, J. T. (1955), *Qumran Cave I* (DJD I: Qumran Cave 1.I), Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD III Baillet, M. / Milik, J. T. / Vaux, R. de (1962), *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD III), Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD VI Vaux, R. de / Milik, J. T. (1977), *I. Archéologie, II. Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128–4Q157)* (DJD VI: Qumrân grotte 4.II), Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD XIII Attridge, H. et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam (1994), *Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII: Qumran Cave 4.VIII), Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD XVIII Baumgarten, J. M. (1996), *The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD XVIII: Qumran Cave 4.XIII), Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD XIX Broshi, M. et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam (1995), *Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX: Qumran Cave 4.XIV), Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD XXII Brooke, G. J. et al., in consultation with J. Vanderkam (1996), *Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII: Qumran Cave 4.XVII), Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD XXIII García Martínez, F. / Tigchelaar, E. J. C. / van der Woude, A. S. (1998), *11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (DJD XXIII: Qumran Cave 11.II), Oxford: Clarendon.
- m Mishna
- b Babylonian Talmud
- Q Qumran (1Q, 2Q etc. refer to the caves where manuscripts were found)
- y Jerusalem Talmud

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Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

The Anatomy of Non-biblical Scrolls from the Cairo Geniza

Abstract: The discovery in the Cairo Geniza of more than fifty fragments of horizontal scrolls containing texts that differ from liturgical biblical readings shows that a scroll format was used for non-biblical books long after the Jewish adoption of the codex format. This paper looks at the physical and palaeographical aspects of scrolls containing Talmud, Midrash, Targum and liturgical texts produced between the 9th and 11th century.

1 Introduction

The most remarkable feature of the Jewish bookmaking tradition is undoubtedly its unflinching attachment to an ancient book form for the biblical works used in public liturgical reading (the Tora and the Book of Esther): the horizontal scroll (*sefer* or *megilla*). It seems that the Jews of the Roman and then Byzantine Empire used the scroll format for all their books, both sacred and profane, and did this much longer than their neighbours. Christians produced their books in a new format – the codex – from the early centuries of the first millennium onwards. The Jews probably adopted the codex at the beginning of the mediaeval period, but they still kept on using scrolls for their liturgical books. This shift from the scroll to the codex for profane Jewish books and the conservative and anachronistic preservation of the scroll format for liturgy has attracted the attention of modern scholars, who have defined it as a turning point between ancient and mediaeval bookmaking practices.

However, this clear-cut functional and chronological distinction needs to be reconsidered, given the increasing number of discoveries in the Cairo Geniza of fragments of scrolls containing non-biblical texts such as prayer books, *midrashim*, the Mishna and the Babylonian Talmud. While none of the scrolls contain explicit mention of a date and place of production, palaeographical analysis suggests that they were produced between the 9th and 11th century. As we shall

I would like to thank Dr Roni Shweka and Dr Vered Raziel-Kretzmer for reading a preliminary version of this paper and sharing their comments and suggestions with me. Vered Raziel-Kretzmer notably identified the Palestinian prayers and also suggested I should add TS H 7. 47 to the corpus. She is currently preparing a study of the liturgical aspects of the scrolls.

see, some of these scrolls contain Babylonian features, while others seem to have been written in the Land of Israel or in Egypt. This paper focuses on the material features of the non-biblical scrolls from the Cairo Geniza which have been identified so far. This is a preliminary study; I believe that more scroll fragments still await identification and that in-depth research is required to fully appreciate their contribution to the history of the Hebrew book in the Middle Ages.

2 From scroll to codex: Jewish tradition and scholarly interpretation

During Antiquity, the Hebrew book – *megillat ha-sefer* – was a horizontal scroll. Rashi of Troyes himself noted that in early times, ‘in the days of the Rishonim’, all books were written on scrolls, just like ‘our Sefer Tora’ (commentary on BT, ‘*Eruvin* 97b¹). In Late Antiquity, when the reading cycle of the Tora with selected prophetic passages (*haftarot*) came to be the main focus of Jewish religious and communal life, the scroll became a liturgical object of veneration. Its production, reading, conservation and ultimately its disposal in a *geniza* when it was worn out were all codified. Obviously, not all scrolls were produced for sacred purposes: the late Talmudic tractate *Soferim* (‘scribes’) mentions the ‘Tora scrolls’ and ‘ordinary Pentateuchs’ (*Soferim* II, 4). However, after the spread of the codex form, the scroll gradually acquired a status that was exclusively liturgical, which accounts for its anachronistic survival through Jewish history, as it were, unaffected by changes in the technology involved in book production.²

The codex, a type of book formed by joining together quires of writing material composed of folded sheets, is a Roman invention. It derives from wax-covered wooden tablets joined together along a central axis. Wood could be replaced by a

¹ כל ספרים העשויים בימי הראשונים עשויין בגליון.

² In later periods, the liturgical use of scrolls became restricted to the Tora, *haftarot*, and the Book of Esther. Earlier on, it applied to other parts of the Bible: the Cairo Geniza contains scroll fragments of the *Five Scrolls* (e.g. Canticles and Ruth in fragment CUL TS AS 20.9). Some biblical scrolls in the Cairo Geniza contain vowels, which is contrary to the norm. This concerns the Pentateuch (e.g. CUL TS NS 3.25, TS NS 6.14) as well as *haftarot* scrolls (e.g. CUL TS B 17.25 and CUL TS Misc. 1.130 according to the Palestinian triennial reading cycle; see Joseph Ofer, <https://faculty.biu.ac.il/~ofer/>). An interesting case is a scroll of Psalms with occasional Palestinian vowels, several fragments of which have been preserved (CUL TS 20.52 + 20.53, 54, 58, 59 and probably CUL TS 12.764). The fact that the Psalms in each fragment follow in their usual order indicates that this early scroll contained the Books of Psalms rather than a prayer book with passages from Psalms.

less durable material such as papyrus or parchment. This new kind of book had many functional advantages; for one thing, a codex is easier to open and browse through than a scroll, which needs to be rolled up and unrolled, especially if one is looking for a particular reference. Moreover, the leaves of a codex are more easily written on both sides, thus saving space (although opistograph [double-sided] scrolls were also known in Roman Antiquity). Given this greater practicality, but possibly also as a mark of their distinctiveness, early Christians adopted the form of the codex as early as the 2nd century CE.³ As for the Jews, there is no clear literary evidence that they wrote their books in the codex format in this early period. The few preserved fragments of Hebrew books dating from the late Byzantine and early Islamic period are all remnants of horizontal scrolls.⁴

It hardly seems possible that the Jews were unaware of the practical, new book form of the codex that was being used around them; it has even been claimed that the codex form itself was a Jewish invention. Saul Lieberman based this statement on rabbinic texts which mention *pinqasim* (from Greek πίναξ, ‘writing tablet’) composed of several tablets attached together (e.g. *Mishna Shabbat* XII: 5) and used for jottings and ephemera. Usually made of wood with a shallow wax-covered surface written on with a sharp stylus, *pinqasim* could also be created from papyrus and written on with ink (*Mishna Kelim* XXIV: 7). For Lieberman, such *pinqasim* composed of several tablets were akin to codices and influenced early Christians, who ‘accepted the Jewish practice and put down their ὑπομνήματα in codices’.⁵ However, Menahem Haran argued on the basis of several Talmudic texts that, although *pinqasim* could be composed of several tablets, they were not attached to one central axis (which would enable the *pinqas* to be opened and browsed through like the pages of a book); rather, they were fixed on two sides, each tablet attached in a linear way to the one that preceded and the one that followed it, just like sheets of a horizontal scroll. Flexible attachments on both sides of each tablet would allow the *pinqas* to be folded not like a codex, but in a concertina-like way.⁶ In support of the possibility that the Jews were acquainted

3 See Roberts and Skeat 1983. See Resnick 1992 on the discussion concerning ideological reasons for the adoption of the codex by Christians and the Jews’ conservative attachment to scrolls.

4 They are all biblical texts: parchment fragments of the Book of Kings and Job from Antinoopolis; see McHardy 1950, 105–106; Sirat 1985, 118–119; two fragments of a Pentateuch scroll (Exodus) on leather, Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ashkar-Gilson Collection, Hebrew 2 (carbon-dated to the 7th/8th century); see Olszowy-Schlanger 2012, 20; Sanders 2014; and a fragment from the same sheet, now in a private collection belonging to S. Loewentheil in New York (previously, Jews’ College, London); see Birnbaum 1959; and more recently Engel and Mishor 2015.

5 Lieberman 1962, 204–205.

6 Haran 1981–82.

with the codex, one may quote St Augustine of Hippo (354–430), who referred to a discrepancy between ‘the codices of the Hebrews’ (*discrepantiam hebraeorum codicum...*) and ‘our codices’ in his work *De civitate Dei* (*The City of God*).⁷ This could indeed be the earliest reference to the Jewish Bible in a codex format. However, it is by no means certain that Augustine was referring to the Bible in Hebrew rather than to a translation used by the Jews, which was different from the Greek and Latin versions adopted by Christian communities.⁸

If the *pinqas* is indeed a concertina-like notebook and Augustine referred to Jewish books rather than codices in Hebrew, then the earliest evidence that the Jews used the codex format dates from after the Muslim conquest. It is generally believed that the Jews adopted the codex from the Muslims, who chose this format early on for the writing of the Quran.⁹ The fact that the scroll format was particularly associated with Jewish bookmaking can be gathered from the epistle of ‘Abd al-Masīḥ ibn Iṣḥāq al Kindī (801–873, Iraq), who claimed that early Quran manuscripts had been written on leaves or on rolls ‘like the scrolls used by the Jews’ until Caliph ‘Uthmān (576–656) opted for the codex instead.¹⁰ It is worth mentioning here that the term for ‘codex’ in mediaeval Hebrew, *miṣḥaf*, is an Arabic loanword.¹¹ The term *miṣḥaf* designates the codex in the earliest source confirming its existence among the Jews, the 8th-century *Halakhot Pesuqot* attributed to Yehudai ben Naḥman, Gaon of Sura c. 760–764, in a discussion concerning the exclusive suitability of scrolls and not *miṣḥaf* for the liturgical reading of the Book of Esther.¹² The term *miṣḥaf* for ‘codex’ was used among Oriental Jewish communities throughout the Middle Ages, notably in colophons of manuscripts.¹³

⁷ Augustine, *The City of God*, XV. I. 11; see Nisard (ed.) 1845, 478.

⁸ See de Lange 2012, 56–68, regarding the discussions of various early Jewish versions in Greek. On the arguments concerning the possible existence of a Jewish Old Latin translation, see Kedar 1988, 308–311.

⁹ See Déroche 2000, 13.

¹⁰ See Déroche 2013, 18 with n. 6, but no such Quran manuscripts are extant.

¹¹ Derived from the root *ṣaḥafa*, ‘to bind together’, this term designates the codex and notably the manuscripts of the Quran par excellence. See Blachère 1977, 54.

¹² Schlossberg 1886, 11: ומגלה כתובה במצחך אין אדם יוצא בה ידי חובתו שכתב ונכתב בספר ומצחך אינו ספר. See Sarna 1974, vol. 1, note 20; Glatzer 1989, 260–261.

¹³ For example, in the colophon of the famous Babylonian codex of the Later Prophets, Ms. Firkovich EBP I B 3, copied in 916 CE. For details of this codex, discovered by Abraham Firkovich in a *geniza* in Crimea (cf. his *Avnei Zikkaron*, Vilna, 1872, 12), see esp. Strack 1876; Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer 1997, no. 3. Another term for ‘codex’ used in Hebrew colophons is also an Arabic loanword (originally from Greek): *daftar*. In Arabic tradition, *daftar* refers to a quire rather than to a codex; see Déroche 2000, 34.

It seems that the use of codices among Jews probably only became widespread during the Gaonic period. It was then that the Jews adopted this more economic and ergonomic format for their books while reserving scrolls for liturgical Bible reading. Consequently, it has been often assumed that if non-biblical scrolls were discovered, they must be ancient and pre-date the adoption of the codex, *ergo* the Muslim conquest and the Middle Ages. Alternatively, if there are grounds to suspect post-conquest dating, such scrolls must be related to liturgy and partake in the holiness of the Tora scroll.

This pattern worked well when the first known non-biblical horizontal scroll fragments were discovered. The ‘Munich Palimpsest’, two Hebrew parchment fragments reused for Orosius’ *Adversus paganos libri I, 2* in Northern Italy (Bavarian State Library, clm 6315 and clm 29416 (1) (olim 29022), henceforth no. XXXI), is relatively old insofar as the upper Latin writing has been dated to the 8th century on palaeographical grounds, and it is liturgy-related because it contains poetic compositions for Yom Kippur.¹⁴ Another scroll published by Michael Klein, no less than 12 fragments of which have been identified in the Cairo Geniza, contains the Palestinian Targum to the Book of Exodus (no. III) and includes references to the triennial Palestinian reading cycle of the Tora.¹⁵ A ritual function could indeed be argued for liturgical and Targum scrolls.

Other fragments of horizontal scrolls discovered in the Cairo Geniza could not be attributed to a liturgical context quite as easily, however. This is the case for a fragment of *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* published by Marc Bregman in 1983 (no. VI)¹⁶ and a fragment of Hekhalot literature published by Peter Schäfer (no. II).¹⁷ Schäfer questioned the possible relationship of the fragment with liturgy. Although part of the text consists of *Qedushta* poems, the other part is non-liturgical. The identification of a fragment of the Babylonian Talmud, tractate *Hullin* 101–105, published by Shamma Friedman in 1995, shows even more clearly that there is not necessarily a relationship between the horizontal scroll format and liturgy.¹⁸ The question of the dating of non-biblical scrolls therefore became a central one: were these scrolls written ‘in the period when rabbinic works were still written on scrolls’, to quote Marc Bregman, or could their use post-date the Islamic conquest

¹⁴ Clm 6315 (29022); see Lowe, *CLA* 9, 1274; Halm 1873, 91; Hauke, 407–408, accessible online at *Manuscripta Mediaevalia*: www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/katalogseiten/HSK0546_b408.jpg.htm. The Hebrew lower text was studied and edited by Beit-Arié 1968 (see esp. p. 417 on the relationship between the codex form and liturgy) and by Yahalom 1969.

¹⁵ Klein 1979.

¹⁶ Bregman 1983.

¹⁷ Schäfer 1984, 9–32.

¹⁸ Friedman 1995.

and the adoption of the codex? Bregman opted for an early dating for the scroll of *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, suggesting a date close to the Hebrew papyri (4th–5th century) largely on the basis of its scroll format.¹⁹ Peter Schäfer dated the Hekhalot manuscript to the 9th century or earlier. Scrolls of leather were indeed found in Egypt at the end of the 12th century, and were seen as archaic. In his *Mishne Tora* Maimonides mentioned such a Talmud on *gewil* which was ‘like the scrolls made five hundred years earlier’ (*Hilkhot Malwe we-Lowe* 15,2).²⁰

The discovery of further non-biblical (rabbinic and liturgical) horizontal scrolls from the Cairo Geniza and their preliminary palaeographical dating around the 9th century at the earliest show that clear-cut distinctions between sacred and profane, or pre- and post-adoption of the codex format, are less relevant than once thought. It seems more productive to postulate that a range of book formats were used by the Jews during the Middle Ages. It is becoming apparent that the ascendancy of the codex format was by no means instantaneous and that different book forms co-existed in the non-biblical sphere for much longer than previously believed. The scroll was still a common book form, in fact, and was not restricted to books kept in synagogues and used in public rituals. This is particularly true of vertical scrolls (*rotuli*), of which more than 400 fragments have been preserved among the Geniza fragments, some dated as late as the 13th century. Horizontal scrolls, too, are more frequent than previously thought. Research work that I have carried out over the past three years has revealed that, in addition to the previously known and published fragments, so far there are at least 54 fragments of horizontal non-biblical scrolls in the Cairo Geniza and elsewhere, which belong to 31 different original scrolls.

This relatively important number of extant scrolls makes it possible to shed new light on this little-known chapter of the history of the Hebrew book. A closer examination of their physical features helps us to reconstruct Jewish bookmaking techniques and contributes to the chronology of their production. Rather than claiming that the Geniza contains pre-Islamic strata, of which these scroll fragments would be the relics, it is important to try to examine them in the light of extant dated and datable Geniza manuscripts, which stem from the late 9th century at the earliest. Such a comparison shows that the pertinent palaeographical features of scrolls are also found in other groups of manuscripts. It is also important to realise that the corpus of scrolls from the Cairo Geniza is far from being palaeographically homogeneous, but rather presents a diversity that may indicate differences in

¹⁹ Bregman 1983, 212. A more cautious date – ‘9th century at the latest’ – was suggested by Malachi Beit-Arié, quoted by Bregman in a footnote, p. 204. See Reif 1993, 124 as well.

²⁰ Havlin 1989/1990, 151–152.

time, place or scribal tradition. I will begin by briefly discussing the extant corpus of non-biblical scrolls from the Cairo Geniza and the grounds on which previously unknown scrolls have been identified, and will then study their material features and propose a palaeographical definition of their writing.

3 The corpus of non-biblical horizontal scrolls

As indicated, 54 fragments of scrolls have been identified so far. They belong to 31 original books in this format. All but one of these fragments come from the Cairo Geniza and belong to the Oriental bookmaking traditions. The Munich Palimpsest probably originates from Italy and may be earlier than the remaining scrolls of the corpus, possibly as early as the 7th century. As for their text, the identified scrolls contain liturgy: Aramaic Targum (Palestinian Targum: no. III, Onkelos with Babylonian vowels: nos XIX and XX) and prayer books (nos V, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX and XXXI)²¹; scholars' books: Mishna (no. VIII), Babylonian Talmud (nos VII, IX, X, XI, XII), *midrashim* and rabbinic works (nos I, IV, VI, XVIII) and *Hekhalot Rabbati* (no. II). One scroll in our corpus contains a biblical text, but was included here because it is a pupil's exercise in reading and writing and constitutes a perfect example of the use of the scroll format for cheap private books and ephemera in the classical Geniza period.

Table 1: List of fragments grouped according to the original scrolls

Scroll	Fragments	Text	Verso	Comments	Date
I	TS K 21.84	<i>Pirqa de-Rabbenu ha-Qadosh</i>	Blank	3 notes of ownership by 3 different hands: 1: name not preserved, 2: written by the main scribe, Yona ben Ya'aqov; 3: Yishai ben Shemu'el	10 th c
II	TS K 21.95s	<i>Hekhalot Rabbati</i>	Blank		9 th c

²¹ Several pre-mediaeval fragments on papyrus containing liturgical poems are extant; see Sirat 1985, e.g. 115, 120, etc. A fragment of a parchment scroll containing common prayers, University of Cologne, Papyrussammlung 5941, is palaeographically closer to the Geniza fragments and may date from the early Islamic period. See Klein-Franke 1983; Harding 1998.

Scroll	Fragments	Text	Verso	Comments	Date
III	TS 20.155	Palestinian Targum Ex 20, 21/24 – Ex 23, 3	The scroll was reused for writing a liturgical text, probably during the 11 th century. The scroll was reused as a <i>rotulus</i> , and the text on the verso (hair side) is perpendicular to that on the recto. The same text appears on the verso of all the fragments.	Palestinian and Tiberian vowels; in some places the vocalisation is sporadic; marks of the <i>sidra</i> of the Palestinian triennial Tora reading cycle.	9 th c or earlier
	TS AS 63.24	Palestinian Targum, fragment (fr.) 1 col., Ex 22, 19–21			
	TS AS 63.51	Palestinian Targum, fr. 2 cols., Ex 21, 13–18; Ex 21, 34–35			
	TS AS 63.72	Palestinian Targum, fr. 1 col. Ex 4, 7–9			
	TS AS 63.85	Palestinian Targum, fr. 1 col., Ex 4, 9–10			
	TS AS 63.95	Palestinian Targum, fr. 1 col., Ex 4, 9–11			
	TS AS 63.96	Palestinian Targum, fr. 1 col., Ex 21, 26–33			
	TS AS 63.117	Palestinian Targum, 1 col., Ex 22, 17–19			
	TS AS 63.129	Palestinian Targum, 1 col., Ex 22, 19–20			
	TS AS 63.153	Palestinian Targum, 1 col., Ex 21, 30–36			

Scroll	Fragments	Text	Verso	Comments	Date
	TS AS 69.241	Palestinian Targum, fr. 1 col., Ex. 22, 26–28			
	TS NS 286.1	Palestinian Targum, fr. 1 col., Ex 23, 8–14			
IV	TS 16.282	Midrash: <i>The Pearl of R. Meir</i> (מרגניתא דביר רב)	Blank		10 th – 11 th c
V	TS H 8.84	Liturgy and blessings: <i>Musaf</i> for Rosh ha-Shana, <i>Amida</i>	Blank		10 th – 11 th c
VI	TS AS 74.324	<i>Avot de Rabbi Natan</i> , ch. 36–38	Reused for a <i>rotulus</i>		9 th – 10 th c
VII	TS AS 78.389 TS AS 4.162	TB BB 4a–5b 29a–b	Reused for a <i>rotulus</i>	Both fragments join directly	9 th – 10 th c
VIII	TS AS 78.390 TS AS 78.391 TS AS 95.291	<i>Mishna Bava Batra</i> 1: 1–6	Blank		9 th – 10 th c
IX	TS AS 78.392	TB <i>Hullin</i> 55b–56a	Blank		9 th – 10 th c

Scroll	Fragments	Text	Verso	Comments	Date
X	TS AS 78.393 TS AS 78.395	Midrash	Reused for a <i>rotulus</i> ; see no. XI (?)	These two fragments have been poorly preserved and their identification is difficult. It is possible that nos X and XI belonged together, especially since they were all reused for a <i>rotulus</i> . However, the handwriting of the scroll (hair side) seems different from that of no. XI.	9 th – 10 th c
XI	TS AS 78.394 TS AS 78.396	Midrash, fr. 3 cols., middle column of TS AS 78. 394: text similar to <i>Otiyot de-Rabbi Aqiva</i>	Reused for a <i>rotulus</i> ; see no. X (?)	Both scroll fragments were written by the same hand, and the proportions of the written space are similar. Their versos were reused for the same rotulus.	9 th – 10 th c
XII	TS AS 86.263	Legal commentary?	Blank		9 th – 10 th c
XIII	TS AS 137.389 TS AS 137.447 TS AS 137.451	Liturgy: <i>seliḥot</i> for Yom Kippur This fragment is poorly preserved. It is uncertain whether it is part of the same scroll as the two previous ones.	Blank	Two fragments belong to the same scroll. The third fragment is so dark that its identification is hypothetical at this stage.	9 th – 10 th c

Scroll	Fragments	Text	Verso	Comments	Date
XIV	TS NS 196.119	Liturgy and blessings: Passover and Shavuot, 'Amida, Palestinian rite	Reused for a <i>rotulus</i> with <i>piyyuṭim</i>		9 th – 10 th c
XV	TS NS 200.12	Liturgy: <i>piyyuṭ</i> , <i>yoṣer</i> for Passover and <i>Sukkot</i> , Pales- tinian rite	Blank but for the name of the owner	Notes of ownership	
XVI	TS Misc. 26.53. 17	BT <i>Hullin</i> 101a–105a	Reused for a <i>rotulus</i>		9 th – 10 th c
XVII	JTS ENA 4103	Liturgy: contains blessings for the morning prayer with Psalms 19, 20, 24, 25 and 103, Palesti- nian rite	Blank		10 th c
	TS H 5.210	<i>piyyuṭim</i> and blessings of the morning prayer			
XVIII	BL Or 5558A.6	<i>Avot de-Rabbi</i> <i>Natan</i> (I, 37; II, 40)	Reused for a <i>rotulus</i> of <i>seliḥot</i>		9 th – 10 th c
XIX	BL Or 4856.3	Bible with Targum Onkelos, Num 31, 26–27	Blank	Babylonian vowels; verse-by-verse Aramaic translation of the Hebrew text; very similar to no. XX	9 th – 10 th c
	TS AS 62.511	Bible with Targum Onkelos, Num 31, 5 – 32, 22			

Scroll	Fragments	Text	Verso	Comments	Date
XX	TS 62.512	Bible with Targum Onkelos, Gn 46, 12 – 31	Blank	Babylonian vowels; verse-by-verse Aramaic translation of the Hebrew text; very similar to no. XIX	9 th – 10 th c
XXI	TS 28.12	Liturgy: <i>piyyuṭim</i>	Blank		
XXII	TS B 13.16	Liturgy: common prayer on scroll, <i>Shaḥarit</i> <i>Sukkot</i> , ' <i>Amida</i> , <i>Shemini</i> ' <i>aṣeret</i> , ' <i>Amida</i> , verses from Psalms, Palestinian rite	Blank	The name עמרם ברבי צדקה appears at the end of a paragraph in col. 2 (it also says עמרם and צדקה בירבי). These are written by the scribe and may be his own signature.	11 th c
XXIII	TS 18 H2	Liturgy: Psalms for holy days, Palestinian rite	Blank	Faded passages of the text were resto- red with darker ink	10 th – 11 th c
XXIV	TS K 5.108 (P1 and P2)	Anthology of biblical pas- sages (Gn 1, 1–5, 6, 9–12, 12, 1–7, 18, 1–4, 23, 1)	Blank except for a short scribble	Children's exercises on a scroll	12 th c
XXV	TS 20.153	Liturgy: <i>Musaf</i> Yom Kippur, liturgical poems, Psalms and ' <i>Amida</i> , Pales- tinian rite	Blank		10 th c

Scroll	Fragments	Text	Verso	Comments	Date
XXVI	TS AS 137.388 TS AS 137.392 TS AS 137.408	Liturgy: <i>piyyuṭ</i> of <i>Birkat ha-</i> <i>Mazon</i>	Blank	The writing is faded and blurred.	?
XXVII	TS Misc. 29.11	Liturgy: ' <i>Amida</i> for Shabbat, evening prayer	Reused for a <i>rotulus</i>		10 th – 11 th c
XXVIII	TS 28.13	Liturgy: Psalms 47, 4–10; 130, 1–8; 122, 1–9; 6, 6–11; 30, 1–13; 97, 12–99, 6, Palestinian rite	Blank		11 th c
XXIX	TS H7.47	Liturgy: <i>Musaf</i> and <i>Shemini</i> ' <i>ašeret</i> , Psalms, Pales- tinian rite			11 th c
XXX	TS NS 122.124 TS NS 122.132	Liturgy: Baby- lonian rite	Blank		11 th – 12 th c
XXXI	Munich Palimpsest	Liturgy: <i>piyyuṭ</i>	Blank	Western origin: probably Italy	7 th –8 th c

4 How to identify a fragment of a scroll

The first difficulty is the identification of the fragments as coming from a scroll. The distinction between a scroll and a codex is easy when the books are complete, but it may be harder when dealing with tiny fragments. It is likely that Cairo Geniza collections contain more scroll fragments whose present physical aspect does not allow immediate identification. Indeed, in order to identify Geniza fragments as remnants of scrolls, one has to consider various physical features together with their text. As will be detailed below, these include writing material, originally

blank versos, stitching on the edges of the sheets, the presence of several parallel columns of the text on one sheet, and vertical marks for folding.

- a) Writing material. The scrolls are written on parchment or leather (see below). While parchment was commonly used for writing codices as well, thick tanned leather was predominantly used for scrolls and *rotuli*. Probably corresponding to the Talmudic *gewil* (גויל), leather was effectively prescribed by normative texts as the only suitable material for liturgically viable scrolls.²² As we shall see below, almost half of the scrolls in our corpus were indeed written on leather (Table 3). Even for small fragments, the use of leather normally constitutes good grounds for identifying them as parts of scrolls.
- b) Blank verso. Jewish scrolls are traditionally written on one side only. According to the normative texts, the written side of scrolls made of leather is the hair side of the hide (*Masekhet Sefer Tora* 1, 4; *Soferim* 1, 5). The recto of the parchment is the flesh side (*Soferim* 1, 5). A few opistograph scrolls have been identified among manuscripts from the Judean Desert,²³ and a scroll written פנים ואחור, ‘forth and back’, is mentioned in *Ez* 2, 10. But the corpus of the non-biblical scrolls from the Cairo Geniza does not contain opistographs; the text is written on one side and the verso has been left blank. In several cases (nos III, VI, VII, X, XI, XIV, XVI, XVIII) the blank verso was reused. These scrolls were all recycled as vertical *rotuli* to receive a different text, written by a different scribe in different ink. The texts of the secondary *rotuli* are written perpendicularly with regard to the text on the recto. Thus, fragments containing literary texts whose verso is blank or whose verso contains writings which result from a secondary reuse (especially in lines perpendicular to the recto) are often parts of scrolls. However, this criterion of the blank verso needs to be used with caution since there are some cases where folios in codices are only inscribed on one side. This concerns final folios of textual units and sometimes also the beginning of the texts: to protect the text, the scribes often began to copy the first quire of a codex from the verso of the first folio, leaving the outer recto free of text.²⁴ It is therefore important to identify the text with precision in order to situate it in the book.

²² E.g. PT *Megilla* I, 71d: הלכה למשה מסיני שיהו כותבין בעורות (‘The law of Moses from Sinai that they should write on hides’).

²³ Tov 2004, 63–65.

²⁴ For example, two fragments which join together containing the text of Mishna *Shabbat* followed by the BT *Gemara*, TS E 2.24 + TS AS 78.249, are two parts of the same folio written on one side only. The page could easily be mistaken for a scroll fragment. However, the important width of the written text indicates a page from a codex written in long lines. The fragments contain the very beginning of the *Mishna Shabbat*. It is likely that the tractate was copied as a separate book. The extant leaf is therefore the first one in the book (and the first of the first quire of the codex).

- c) **Stitching.** Some fragments can be identified as parts of a scroll because they contain the outer edges of a sheet with marks of stitching to the side of another sheet. In nos II, XXIII and XXIV (P1), the sheets are still stitched together. No. IV contains a vertical row of holes in its well-preserved right-hand margin, with a piece of vegetal thread still attached to a part of the margin. Folding marks along the row of holes show that this sheet was stitched to another one through a fold towards the blank verso. Rows of holes are also visible on the edges of nos XI, XVI, XXII, XXV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX and XXXI. Vegetal thread is preserved in no. VI and VIII.
- d) **Columns per sheet.** One sheet of the writing material may contain several parallel columns. For example, no. XXIV (P2) contains 7 narrow columns per sheet, no. III (fragment TS 20.155) and no. XXX contain 5 columns per sheet, no. I (sheet 1) and no. XV contain at least 4 columns per sheet, and nos XXII and XXVIII 4 columns per sheet. It should be pointed out that, as far as rabbinic texts are concerned, early Oriental manuscripts are usually written in a layout of one block of text per page, in long lines. The presence of several parallel and relatively narrow columns of text per page is usually an indication of the scroll format (see Figs 1 and 2).
- e) **Folding marks.** The vertical traces of folds are often easy to see (e.g. no. V, XXIII). They correspond to the folding of the scroll when it was read and preserved. Such traces provide an additional argument that the book was read while being progressively unrolled and folded horizontally. Moreover, these folds also provide an indication of the scroll's size – small scrolls were unrolled and folded during reading (see below).

All the fragments included in our corpus that were found to belong to a scroll met at least one of the above criteria. The corpus is a modest one compared to the thousands of Cairo Geniza fragments of codices that exist, but even so, it is still large enough for us to consider the horizontal scroll simply as one of the formats available for copying rabbinic and liturgical works in the mediaeval period, and to study their techniques and palaeographical features in their own right.

5 Writing material

As stated above, two types of writing materials were used to produce horizontal scrolls: parchment and leather. Parchment is the writing material employed in fragment nos I, II, III, IV, V, XIV, XV, XVIII, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX and XXXI (which is probably of Western origin, possibly Italian). Leather was used for nos VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XVI, XIX, XX and XXVI. Although both writing materials are of animal origin, the techniques used in their production differed and the final results are very different (see Figs 1 and 2 below).

As far as the Geniza fragments are concerned, leather was mainly used in the scrolls and *rotuli*. Leather is obtained from the dermis of an animal hide in its full thickness and is tanned and softened by beating. The well-attested method of transforming the animal skin into a usable product involves initially removing the fatty tissues of the hypodermis as well as the outer epidermis layer containing hair. Scientific analysis of leather Geniza scrolls has yet to be carried out to reconstruct the techniques that were employed in their production. Gaonic and mediaeval sources nonetheless give us some insights concerning the production of leather for writing. Maimonides differentiated four main stages in the preparation of the skin: hair removal, pickling in salt, drying with flour and tanning: 'A hide of domestic cattle or wild beast is taken. First, its hair is removed. It is then pickled in salt, afterwards prepared with flour and finally tanned with gall-nut or similar materials which contract the skin and make it durable' (*Hilkhot Tefillin* 1, 6). An earlier and more detailed account is a responsum attributed to either Sar Shalom, Gaon of Sura (mid-9th century) or to Sherira ben Ḥananya, Gaon of Pumbeditha (10th century):

The following is the manner in which *gewilim* are produced in our parts: dried hides are taken, their hair removed and they are soaked in water until soft [Maimonides' stage 1: hair removal], then cast into a specially designed pit into which water is poured along with a small amount of dog dung and a bit of salt. The pit is closed and the skins are left in it for one day in summer or three days in winter; no longer than that, lest the skins decay [Maimonides' stage 2: salting]. When the skins are taken out of the pit, they are inspected for tears, which are then sewn up. They are then laid out on a special wooden frame and rinsed thoroughly with fresh water. Then a large quantity of gall-nuts is brought, ground or crushed thoroughly, and each skin is treated with a third of a Baghdadi pound [of gall-nuts]. The skins are sprayed with these gall-nuts on both sides and sprinkled with some water. More of the gall-nuts are applied to the hair side than to the flesh side. This is done to each skin twice a day. On the third day, the rest of the gall-nuts are sprayed and the skins are placed in the sun to bleach and are left there to dry ([Maimonides' stage 4: tanning]. Subsequently, they are beaten (וצפנמי) and cut.²⁵

25 Lewin 1929, *Shabbat*, sect. 251; see Haran 1985, 54–55.

This procedure differs from Maimonides' description by omitting stage 3 (flouring) and placing the hides on wooden frames (which is done for parchment, but without any mention here of stretching; rather, the frame seems to be used to wash and tan the hides), and mentioning the final stage: beating the tanned and dried hides to soften them and make them fit for writing.

It appears from Gaonic and mediaeval sources that leather prepared in this way was identified with the Talmudic *gewil* (גויל) – the main writing material deemed suitable for copying liturgical scrolls.²⁶ The effect in actual Geniza manuscripts is unmistakable: the leather is thick, heavily tanned and darkened (almost black with age, in fact). There is a clear difference between the hair and flesh sides: the hair side is smooth and shiny, while the flesh side is suede-like and soft to touch. The text is written on the hair side. The flesh side has not been prepared for writing. In reused manuscripts, the flesh side is inscribed, but the surface absorbs the ink just like blotting paper and the outlines of the letters are blurred. On the glossy hair side, the ink adheres to the surface and reacts with it well. Some Geniza sources lead one to think that *gewil* was used exclusively by Jews. Indeed, in Judaeo-Arabic book lists, this term is not translated or given any Arabic equivalent, but used in its original Aramaic-Hebrew form.²⁷

The second type of writing material used in non-biblical Geniza scrolls is parchment. Used for codices in Oriental communities (in addition to paper), this is also a frequent writing material for Tora scrolls found in the Cairo Geniza.²⁸ Here again, a scientific analysis of the elaborative techniques used would be very welcome.²⁹ A simple codicological observation alone is sufficient to distinguish parchment from leather, however. Even though the quality, colour and thickness of pieces of parchment found in the Geniza vary a great deal, some of the characteristics are shared: parchment is thinner than *gewil*, creamy-white to dark yellow in colour, and it is manufactured in such a way that both sides can easily be used for writing. Gaonic

²⁶ On the different types of skins in Talmudic times and their identification in the Middle Ages, see Haran 1985.

²⁷ E.g. TS 20.44, a post-mortem inventory of books belonging to Avraham he-Ḥasid drawn up in Fustat in 1223; see Allony 2006, no. 67.

²⁸ TB *Menachot* 31b suggests that despite a preference for *gewil*, scrolls could also be made of parchment (כלי). Maimonides explicitly permitted the use of *qelaf* to write Tora scrolls (*Hilkhot Tefillin* I, 8–9).

²⁹ The most frequently used hides were sheep and goat. Recent research on a sample of 32 Geniza parchment fragments DNA-tested by the Biology, Archaeology and Chemistry Department of the University of York using protein mass spectrometry to extract collagen has revealed that all but one of the fragments were written on sheep hides; see Nichols 2015, http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/Taylor-Schechter/GF/Genizah_Fragments_69.pdf.

literature provides some information about the production of parchment, which is often referred to by the Arabic term *raqq* (or *riqq*) or Hebrew *qelaf*.³⁰ Indeed, the parchment used for Jewish manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza is not visibly different from what was used in Arabic documents, including those found in the Cairo Geniza. It is likely that Jewish parchment makers used the same techniques or even that Jewish scribes acquired parchment produced by Arab parchment makers.³¹ It is relevant to note that Jewish craftsmen producing parchment were called *ruqūqī* or *raqqāq*, ‘the *raqq* maker’, in the Geniza texts.³² In general, parchment can be defined as ‘a writing material of animal origin, untanned or very slightly tanned, dried under tension and apt to receive writing on its two sides’.³³ Scholars disagree on the role of tanning in the production of parchment. Some consider that parchment is not tanned, unlike leather,³⁴ while others observe that in Oriental communities parchment could be tanned very superficially without being turned into ‘leather’.³⁵ Indeed, it seems that the main difference in preparing leather and parchment is not so much the presence or absence of tanning agents as the process of thinning the parchment by scraping off the layers and especially stretching it and drying it under tension; in parchment, the structure of the skin tissue is profoundly altered by stretching. The production of mediaeval *raqq*, unlike *gewil*, also involved the use of lime at the initial stage of hair removal. Unlike leather, parchment was made for writing on both sides. The preparation of the flesh side made it lighter in colour than the hair side and progressively made the flesh side a favourite recto side.

As for the techniques of production, they probably varied a great deal throughout the centuries and places – parchment was produced as early as the first millennium BCE in Egypt and is attested in European sources as early as the 8th century CE (Ms. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare 490). As regards the parchments used in Geniza times, some information can be gathered from Muslim and Jewish sources. Unlike leather, parchment was produced using lime. The author of *Fihrist*

30 Although, as discussed by Haran 1985, 46, the technique used for making Talmudic *qelaf* differed slightly from that of the Arabic *raqq*; in the Geniza period, the term *qelaf* in Hebrew was a translation of *raqq*.

31 According to Haran 1985, 47, the parchment found in mediaeval Oriental Jewish documents must have been produced by Jews because in his opinion the Arabs did not write on skins. However, while it is true that paper was the main writing material, Arabic books and manuscripts were also copied on parchment; see Déroche 2000, 36–38.

32 See Goitein 1967, vol. II, 410, 422.

33 See Muzerelle 1985, 39.

34 See Ryder 1991, 25.

35 See Beit-Arié 1981, 22, note 25.

(10th century) mentions a depilatory paste, *nūra*, which was composed of lime and arsenic and used to clean the hair side of hides,³⁶ and a responsum by Hai Gaon states that hides were soaked in a lime solution (במים ובסיד). This responsum is interesting because it describes the process in full and points out differences in relation to another technique, which is the one used to obtain leather (*gewil*):

This is the teaching of the halakhah of Moses from Sinai: *tefillin* are written on *qelaf*, *mezuza* on *dukhsustos*. *Qelaf* is in the place of the flesh, *dukhsustos* in the place of the hair (see BT, *Shabbat* 70b, *Menahot* 32a). May our lord explain to us whether *qelaf* and *dukhsustos* mentioned here concern the leather (גיליון) treated with oak water (מי מילין),³⁷ dog dung and salt, or, as it is done here, they bring skins, salt them, keep them in salt for two or three days, then they soak them in lime water, take them out of it and attach them to their frames (מלכנויות), and then scrape from them their hair and their membrane layer, and they leave them on the frames in the sun. And also, if they are *gewilin*, do they need to be produced with a special intention or not? Is there a problem with using skins coming from the Gentiles' slaughtering or not?

The Gaon answers this query by making a clear distinction between the techniques:

We have seen that those who soak it (the skin) in lime and water do not peel off it the *qelaf* and *dukhsustos*. What is suitable is *qelaf* moistened with gall-nut (כלי דעפיץ), as you have written, with oak water, dog dung and salt. And after that, it is rubbed with dates and barley flour, then peeled and finished with gall-nut, with the intention of producing it. The sections of the *tefillin* are written on the place of the flesh, and they are bound with the same *dukhsustos* which was peeled off it.³⁸

Thus, the Gaon considers that the liturgically suitable material mentioned in the Talmud is produced using salt, enzymes (dog dung) and tannins, then by rubbing with dates and flour, 'peeling', and finishing by tanning it in a gall-nut solution. This contrasts with the technique described by his correspondents, which involves lime solution, thorough scraping and drying stretched over wooden frames. This corresponds to Muslim sources, which insist that hides for *raqq* have to be scraped thoroughly, including the flesh side, and stretched over wooden frames so that they dry under tension.³⁹ Scraping and stretching consequently produce a much thinner writing surface than leather, ready for writing on on both sides. In the case of Geniza parchments, a small amount of tanning material is also used (most likely gall-nuts), probably at the latest stage

³⁶ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel 1871, 21.

³⁷ מי מילין, from מילא, *quercus infectoria* or *quercus aegilops*, a species of oak from which one obtains gall-nuts and acorns, both used as tanning material; see Jastrow, 1926, s.v. מילא, 773.

³⁸ Harkavy 1885–1887, 28, paragraph 63.

³⁹ For Muslim sources, see Déroche 2000, 40–41.

of the parchment's treatment. This no doubt accounts for the yellowish to light brown hue of most Geniza parchments, which is stronger on the hair side, which also retains ink better.

The parchment used for the scrolls in our corpus has a cream to yellow colour. In some cases (no. I), the parchment is of poor quality and greasy. While the parchment can be written on both sides, parchment scrolls do not contain any text on their verso except for those cases where they were reused, as in no. XIV). The scrolls' text is generally written on the flesh side of the parchment, apart from no. IV.

5.1 Ink

Two basic types of ink were used to copy the scrolls in our corpus: carbon ink and iron-gall ink. The distinction between them has been made both by visual inspection and in some cases, notably nos VII, XVI and XX, by the use of multi-spectral imaging and the XRF technique (X-Ray Fluorescence).⁴⁰ All manuscripts on parchment were written in iron-gall ink, which has now turned brown. The manuscripts on leather are written in a carbon-based black ink. However, when scrolls on leather were reused, the ink on the flesh side was found to be of a different type: iron-gall, as in nos VII and XVI.

5.2 Sheets

In most cases, the fragments are so small that it is difficult to reconstruct the original size of the sheet, and even less of the entire scroll. Indeed, we have no indication of how much of a rabbinic or liturgical text was copied in a scroll or what version of the text was included. Any calculation of the original size would be futile. However, more than one sheet is preserved in nos II and III. The size of the sheets can be irregular: in no. II, for example, the right-hand sheet contains at least four columns of the text, while the left-hand sheet, whose lateral edges are fully preserved, contains only two columns per page. Sheet 1 measures

⁴⁰ Ira Rabin and Oliver Hahn from the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Hamburg, and the Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing (BAM), Berlin, examined no. XVI in September 2015 as part of their involvement in the *Cairo Genizah Palimpsests project* run by the EPHE-Labex Hastec, Paris, which was co-ordinated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (EPHE, Paris) and Ben Outhwaite (Cambridge).



Fig 1: Cambridge University Library, TS 18 H 2 (no. XXIII), liturgical scroll (detail). © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

270 × 380 mm and is incomplete on its right-hand side, and sheet 2, which is complete, measures 270 × 220 mm.

The sheets are stitched together with white vegetal thread and in one case, no. XXIII (Fig. 1), with a narrow strip of parchment. Traces of stitching are preserved in nos IV, VI and VIII. In nos II, XVII, XXIII, XXIV (P1) and XXIX, the two sheets are still firmly attached. The edges of both sheets are folded and held together by circular stitching on the verso (no. XXIX: the recto presents a straight surface without an overlap) or on the recto (no. XVII).

5.3 Dimensions

Although the length and the thickness of the complete scrolls is difficult to reconstruct, their height can be determined in many cases.

Table 2: Height of the scrolls

No.	Fragment measured	Height in mm
I	TS K 21.84	230
II	TS K 21.95s	270
III	TS 20.155	290
IV	TS 16.282	295
V	TS H 8.84	215
VI	TS AS 74.324	310
VII	TS AS 78.389	180
VIII	TS AS 78.390	185 (incomplete)
IX	TS AS 78.392	100 (incomplete)
X	TS AS 78.393	
XI	TS AS 78.394	240
XII	TS AS 86.263	85 (incomplete)
XIV	TS NS 196.119	115
XV	TS NS 200.12	173 (incomplete)
XVI	TS Misc. 26.53. 17	340
XVII	JTS ENA 4103	155
XVIII	BL Or 5558A	97 (incomplete)
XIX	BL Or 4856.3	210 (incomplete)
XXI	TS 28.12	560 (incomplete)
XXII	TS B 13.16	185
XXIII	TS 18 H2	215
XXIV	TS K 5.108 (P1 and P2)	118
XXV	TS 20.153	175
XXVIII	TS 28.13	225
XXIX	TS H 7.47	210
XXX	TS NS 122.124	100

The height of the scrolls ranges from small to very large. The smallest are ‘pocket size’ liturgical scrolls, such as nos XIV and XXX, which are only 115 mm and 100 mm high respectively. Most scrolls whose height is complete (i.e. the fragment contains both the upper and lower margins) are between 200 and 300 mm in size, with two scrolls – both on leather – going beyond 300 mm: 340 mm for the *Hullin* scroll (no. XVI; see Figs 2 and 3) and 310 mm for *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* (no. VI). The

largest scroll is no. XXI, liturgy on parchment: its height is over 560 mm, yet it is still incomplete because the lower margin is missing.

As for the length of the scrolls, this is impossible to say; we do not know whether the scroll contained complete works, individual portions or tractates, or again a selection of texts. Likewise, it is unclear whether the text version corresponds to other known witnesses and versions of the text and would be of the same length. Some texts have not been identified yet. Consequently, any reconstruction of the length of the scrolls based on the hypothetical reconstruction of the text is fruitless and will not be pursued here. Nonetheless, some very approximate information can be gathered from the marks left by readers of the scrolls.

As we have seen, in some cases it is possible to discern vertical folding marks (e.g. in no. V). These traces of use reflect the way the scroll was handled when it was read and rolled up again afterwards. Marks of this kind can be seen as an indication of the scroll's size. Indeed, while large, heavy and tightly rolled scrolls such as Tora scrolls were usually attached to two handles and unrolled while being held on a support, small scrolls such as *Megillat Ester* only had one handle, if any. While unrolling the scroll, the reader holds the handle-free end with his hand and folds it so it does not drop on the floor. Only small scrolls, loosely held and provided with one handle or no handle at all, would contain traces of such folding. The verso of no. XIX, which might have contained the Tora with the verse-by-verse Pentateuch, is smooth, without any traces of vertical folds.

5.4 Pricking and ruling

The fragments have not been preserved well enough for us to obtain a clear picture of the pricking and ruling techniques and patterns that were used in the past. Nonetheless, some general observations can be made. In nos I, V, X, XIII and XV, there are no traces of any pricking and ruling. In nos X, XIII and XV this absence may be due to the state of conservation, but nos I and V, both on parchment, were definitely not ruled at all. Several manuscripts were ruled and probably contained pricking as well, but the holes have not been preserved (nos IV, VI, VII, IX, XII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI and XXII). Pricking is preserved in no. II, where there are vertical rows of pricking holes in the side margins of the sheets, at a varying distance from the edge of the text. The pricking holes were made with a triangular awl. There are also single pricking holes in the top margin to guide the vertical border lines of each column. The pricking and ruling was done separately for each sheet. In no. III, there are only two holes in the preserved part of the upper margin to guide vertical lines between cols. 3 and 4 (from right to



Fig 2: Cambridge University Library, TS Misc. 26. 53. 17 (no. XVI), Babylonian Talmud, *Ḥullin*.
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Fig 3: Cambridge University Library, TS Misc. 26. 53. 17 (no. XVI), multispectral image, infra-red. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.



Fig 4: Cambridge University Library, TS Misc. 26. 53. 17 (no. XVI), detail; the last written line is under the last ruled line. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

left). These were made with a needle. In no. X, there is a row of vertical pricking, approx. 10 mm from the edge of the sheet on the left-hand side.

As for the ruling techniques, both leather and parchment fragments were ruled with a hard point. The scrolls on leather were ruled on the hair side, i.e. the side which received the text (nos VI, VII, VIII, IX, XII, XVI and XIX). As for the parchment, when the side of the ruling can be determined, the scrolls were either ruled on the flesh side, corresponding to the inscribed surface (nos III, XVII, XVIII and XXII) or on the hair side, which corresponds to the blank verso (no. XIV). In no. XI, it seems that ruling was done with a hard point, which left brown-coloured traces on the lines.

The ruling pattern is simple: there is a vertical line on each side of the columns (nos III, IV, XIV, XVI, XVII and XXI) and there are horizontal lines to guide the lines of the text (in no. XXII, only the vertical lines are visible). The horizontal lines were traced through the width of the sheet (no. XVI). The horizontal lines are spaced from approx. 5 mm apart in no. IX to approx. 7 mm in no. XII. In no. XVI, the space between the horizontal ruled lines varies between 7 and 9 mm (see Fig. 2). It seems that the distance was not measured with a ruler. In no. IV, the piece was ruled or marked with vertical lines as if the sheet was to be written in the opposite direction – maybe for recycling. As is the custom in Oriental manuscripts, in most scrolls whose preservation allows such observations, the first and last lines are written below the first and last line of ruling respectively. However, in no. XVII, there is a ruled line below the last written line (see Fig. 5). In no. XVI, there are two written lines under the last ruled line (see Fig. 4). There are 47 ruled and written lines in col. II, and 48 written and 47 ruled lines in col. III (see Figs 2 and Fig. 3).

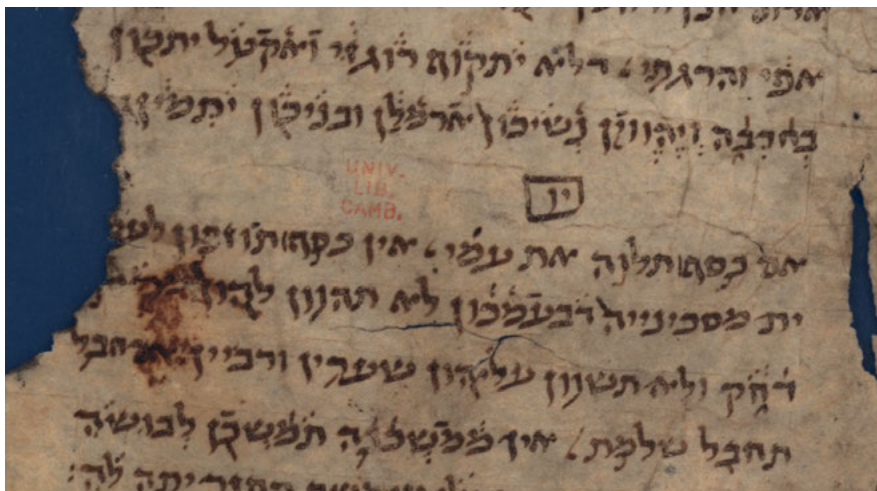


Fig 5: Cambridge University Library, TS 20. 155 (no. III), graphically marked hierarchy of the text.
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5.5 Layout of the sheets

The text is disposed on the sheets of leather or parchment in parallel columns. In most cases, it is impossible to ascertain how many columns there were per sheet. In nos III, XVI, XVII and XXIII, there were at least 5 columns per sheet. In nos V, XIV and XXII, 4 columns are preserved. The number of columns per sheet could vary, as in no. II, in which sheet 1 contained at least 4 columns, and sheet 2, which is complete, contains 2 columns. In no. XVII, sheet 1, which is also complete, contains 4 columns and sheet 2, which is incomplete, has 5 columns. In no. XXIII, sheet 1 contains 4 columns, while sheet 2 contains 5. The small liturgical scroll no. XIV contains one complete sheet, whose text is written in one column or one block of text.

5.6 Text layout

From the point of view of their text layout, the scrolls whose state of preservation allows conclusions to be made can be divided into two groups: manuscripts with a more developed system of text navigation and manuscripts with very basic text subdivision markers.

The first group especially includes nos II, V, XIV, XV, XXII and XXIII (*Hekhalot Rabbati*, Palestinian Targum and liturgical texts). All of these scrolls are written on parchment, and one can see a display of more than one text layout device. In no. II, new sections are introduced after a blank line and with an indent at

the beginning of the first line of a subsection. In cols. 3 and 4 of sheet 1, part of the text is written in the format of a tabular list. No. III contains a number of elements, some reminiscent of the text layout of the Hebrew Bibles. The text, which contains the beginnings of the Hebrew verses (*dibbur ha-mathil*) followed by a full translation of each verse in Aramaic, is subdivided according to the *sidrot* of the Palestinian triennial reading cycle and is also laid out in paragraphs and verses. The *sidra* is introduced by its number in Hebrew letters, written in the blank space of 2 lines between the sections and placed in a square frame. The paragraphs are arranged like open and closed sections (*parashiyot petuhot* and *setumot*). Each abbreviated Hebrew verse ends with a paragraph sign in the shape of a '6'. The Aramaic verses are ended by using a *sof-pasuq* sign. A further differentiation between Hebrew and Aramaic can be seen in the presence or absence of vowels: the Aramaic verses are systematically vocalised with Palestinian vowels, while Hebrew lemmata are often (though not always) devoid of vowels (they contain however, basic signs of cantillation). There is a clear and sophisticated hierarchy in the text to help the reader (Fig. 5).

Most liturgical scrolls, such as nos XIV and XV, also show that great care was taken in their presentation. The new subsections are introduced by titles in blank lines (the title הג שבויעות in no. XIV and the title of a *yoşer* in no. XV). The paragraphs are marked by a relatively large space in the line. In no. XIV, the end of the paragraph is marked by a '6'-like sign. These hierarchically organised manuscripts use blank as opposed to written space as a major element in planning the page. Large white spaces in the lines marking the beginning of new paragraphs and the end of existing ones signalled by a circle are characteristics found in no. I as well.

The second group includes nos VI, VII, VIII, XI and XVI (*Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, TB *Bava Batra*, *Mishna Bava Batra*, TB *Hullin*). These are all manuscripts inscribed on leather. The most distinctive feature in this group is that smaller amounts of blank space are used to mark new subsections than in group 1. New subsections are never introduced by a blank line, and there are no indentations at the beginning of a new paragraph either. The system used to mark subdivisions is a rudimentary one. In no. VI (*Avot de-Rabbi Natan*), there are spaces of a width of three letters at the end of some paragraphs. In no. VII (TB), a new *mishna* is introduced by the abbreviation מתני״ placed in a space of approximately five characters left blank in the line, and the end of a paragraph is marked by a dot in the upper corner of the headline (Fig. 6).

In no. VIII, the *mishnayot* of the *Mishna Bava Batra* chapter 1 are introduced by consecutive letters of the Hebrew alphabet provided with a three-dot symbol on the top. The previous *mishna* is ended by a circle in the middle of the line (Fig. 7).

In no. XI, most probably copied by the same scribe as no. VI, there is no text subdivision or punctuation, but the end of the chapter, corresponding to the



Fig 6: Cambridge University Library, TS AS 78. 389 (no. VII). Beginning of a new *mishna*.
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last line of the fragment and of the sheet, contains קילס followed by a *samekh*. In no. XVI, the subsections of the text are indicated by a white space of approx. 3 letters in the line (col. 3). There are no paragraph or punctuation signs.

Thus, we notice that in both groups there is a certain effort to mark subdivisions of the text, but to a different extent. In group 1, there is definitely more care about using blank spaces in order to indicate new sections. In group 2, such markings are reduced to a minimum. In group 1, there is constant use of end-of-paragraph signs, with more than one device sometimes being employed in the same scroll, and punctuation at the end of the verses, while in group 2 such graphic signs are minimal.

The state of preservation of the other fragments is such that it is impossible to ascertain whether their text was subdivided graphically. In the case of longer fragments (no. IX), the ends of the verses contain no punctuation signs.

5.7 Decoration

Although some of the scrolls display a high level of calligraphic skill, they do not contain any extra-textual decoration. In one case only, no. XXII (a common prayer book), there is a schematic drawing, which fills a short last line of a paragraph (see Fig. 8). The text includes prayers for *Sukkot* and *Shemini ašeret*, and the drawing may represent a *lulav* (bouquet of four botanical species for *Sukkot*).



Fig 7: Cambridge University Library, TS AS 78. 390 (no. VIII). End of a *mishna* and the number of the next *mishna*. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

5.8 Palaeography

All the scrolls in our corpus are written in square script,⁴¹ often of calligraphic quality, and most of them show a high level of scribal proficiency. All of them are written in the Oriental type of Hebrew script, but belong to two distinct sub-groups within the large Oriental category: Oriental South-western (Palestine and Egypt) (see Fig. 1) and Oriental North-eastern (Iraq, Persia, diaspora communities under Babylonian influence) respectively (see Fig. 3 and Fig. 4).⁴² This differentiation is well attested in the early strata of the Cairo Geniza (dated and datable documents: 9th to 11th century), when the two sub-types seem to have been used in parallel. Although most of the early fragments are undated and contain no mention of their locality, various features enable us to attribute them to ‘Palestinian’ and ‘Babylonian’ geo-cultural areas or zones of influence.

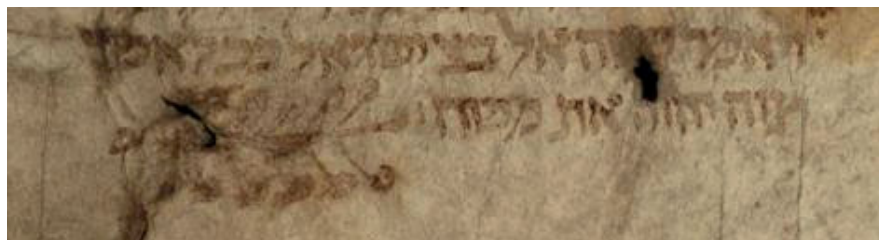


Fig 8: Cambridge University Library, TS B 13. 16 (no. XXII), decorative space-filler. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

⁴¹ In no. V, one of the allographs of the letter *alef* however, has a more cursive ductus and shape.

⁴² For a definition of these two sub-types of the Oriental Hebrew square script however, see Olszowy-Schlanger 2015; Tchernetska, Olszowy-Schlanger and de Lange 2007; Olszowy-Schlanger 2010; Olszowy-Schlanger and Shweka 2013; Olszowy-Schlanger 2014. Edna Engel also distinguishes two sub-groups of Oriental script, but places them in a chronological sequence; see Engel 1998/99, 369–371.

The South-western palaeographical sub-type is attested in manuscripts which can be attributed to Palestine or Egypt – a cultural continuum since the Byzantine period. Some of the manuscripts in this group contain Palestinian vowels, typically Palestinian texts such as the *Talmud Yerushalmi* or liturgical poetry, or are palimpsests written on reused books in Greek, Christian-Palestinian Aramaic or Georgian.⁴³ The script of this sub-group has affinities with the Hebrew script from Egypt from the Byzantine and early Islamic period, as attested in the Antinoopolis Papyri nos 47 and 48 from Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Sackler Library (Book of Kings).⁴⁴ As for the dated or datable manuscripts which could be used for palaeographical comparison, this sub-type is attested in TS NS 308.25, a fragment of a liturgical book containing a standard model-formulary of a letter of divorce mentioning the date in 4633 AM (= 872/3) and Jerusalem as the place of writing.⁴⁵ This is a formulary and not an actual legal document, so the date of 872/3 is a *terminus post quem* for the copy of the book. The copy was probably not made much later than that. This sub-type is attested in the 10th century in various biblical fragments: TS A 39.11+Manchester, John Rylands Library Gaster Genizah 2 copied in 953/4 in Gaiffa in Egypt,⁴⁶ and in TS A 42.2+TS B 17. 38+TS NS 283.123+TS NS 80.14, copied in 924 in Egypt or Palestine since these *haftarot* fragments contain indications of the Palestinian reading cycle.⁴⁷

The North-eastern sub-type probably originated in Babylonia, but spread westwards as early as the 10th century. The earliest dated and localised examples either come from Iran and contain Babylonian vowels⁴⁸ or come from Iraq.⁴⁹ From the 10th century onwards, this sub-type was also used in Egypt and Palestine. It is related to the calligraphic script of the famous masoretic codices with Tiberian vowels, such as the Aleppo Codex⁵⁰ or Leningrad Codex (Ms. Firkovich, EBP I B 19a, Cairo, 1008) and other books copied by its scribe, Shemu‘el ben Ya‘aqov.⁵¹

43 For a list of the palimpsests from the Geniza, see Sokolov/Yahalom 1978; Olszowy-Schlanger 2014 and the bibliography there.

44 Sirat 1985, 35–37.

45 See Brody 1998, 197. Margalio 1973, 121.

46 Beit-Arié/Sirat/Glatzer, 1997 vol. I, no. 9.

47 Beit-Arié/Sirat/Glatzer 1997, vol. I, no. 4.

48 TS AS 62.402, 461, 492–493, 533, 644+TS NS 246.26.2 and 18(a)+TS NS 283.10, copied in 903/4 in Gunbad-i-Mallgān; see Beit-Arié/Sirat/Glatzer 1997, vol. I, no. 2; ‘Codex Babylonicus’ St Petersburg, Firkovich EBP I B 3, copied in 916, Beit-Arié/Sirat/Glatzer 1997, vol. I, no. 3.

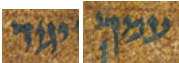
49 Ketubba TS Ar. 38.11, Hopkins 1981, proposed the year 870/1 as the *terminus ad quem*. For a different reading and a date a hundred years later, see Olszowy-Schlanger 2004–2005, 47–50.

50 Beit-Arié/Sirat/Glatzer 1997, vol. I, no. 6 and the bibliography mentioned there.

51 Beit-Arié/Sirat/Glatzer 1997, vol. I, no. 17.

Described in more detail elsewhere,⁵² some salient features of the two groups are summarised briefly here and illustrated by the scrolls (Table 3):

Table 3: Main salient features of the two sub-groups of the Oriental Hebrew script

South-western Hebrew square script	North-eastern Hebrew square script
a) the letters <i>gimel</i>, <i>‘ayin</i> and <i>pe</i> are long and descend below the baseline (ex. no. XXIII) 	a) the letters <i>gimel</i>, <i>‘ayin</i> and <i>pe</i> are most often included between the headline and the baseline (ex. no. VII). 
b) the letters <i>lamed</i> and <i>resh</i> do not reach the baseline (no. IV) 	b) <i>lamed</i> often does not reach the baseline, but <i>resh</i> is the same height as the line of writing (no. XVI) 
c) example of distinctive letter shapes: <i>alef</i>, <i>he</i>, <i>het</i>, <i>pe</i> (no. XVII)  <i>Alef:</i> the basic structure of the letter consists of three strokes: a slanted central stroke, left-hand vertical downstroke and right-hand vertical downstroke. The characteristic feature concerns the left-hand downstroke, which is almost perpendicular and links the headline with the baseline. It descends from the left extremity of the central mainstroke and sometimes even higher up above the headline. It is either straight or ended by a foot often turned right, towards the inside of the letter.	c) examples of distinctive letter shapes: <i>alef</i>, <i>he</i>, <i>het</i>, <i>pe</i> (no. XVI)  <i>Alef:</i> the basic structure of the letter consists of three strokes: a slanted central stroke, left-hand vertical downstroke and right-hand vertical downstroke. The central mainstroke is often extended on the left by a serif pointing upwards. The left-hand downstroke is rounded or descends at an angle so that its lower end is further to the left than its top extremity. In many cases, the stroke is slightly rounded and ended by a foot turning either to the right or, more frequently, to the left. The meeting point between the left-hand downstroke and the mainstroke is at a distance from the headline and the top of the letter.

⁵² See esp. Olszowy-Schlanger 2014, 295.



He: the right-hand downstroke descends from the upper horizontal bar without reaching the baseline. The upper horizontal bar may have a serif on its left-hand extremity. The left-hand down-stroke does not touch the upper horizontal bar.



He: the right-hand downstroke descends from the upper horizontal bar. Sometimes it stops slightly above the baseline. There is a serif on the left extremity of the horizontal bar. The left-hand downstroke is straight. It is attached to the upper horizontal bar. Its meeting point with the bar is removed from the left-hand extremity towards the middle of the letter.



Het: differs from *he*, notably in the space between the left-hand downstroke and the upper horizontal bar.



Het: can easily be confused with *he* because the left-hand downstroke touches the upper horizontal bar. However, in *het*, this downstroke is attached to the horizontal bar at its very extremity.



Pe: the letter is larger and broader than average letters, descending slightly below the baseline. The upper horizontal line is as long as the base. The left-hand stroke crosses the upper bar and ends in a hook turned inwards to the right.



Pe: the upper horizontal part is shorter than the base of the letter. It is created by a meeting point of the slightly slanted right-hand downstroke and the left-hand stroke. The left-hand stroke ends in a decorative foot which often turns outwards to the left.

6 Conclusions

This preliminary study of the corpus of the non-biblical horizontal scrolls identified in the Cairo Geniza reveals two distinct bookmaking traditions. The differences between the groups of manuscripts include writing materials, page and text layouts, and two different sub-groups of the Oriental square script. The distribution of these physical features follows a pattern, which seems to include the nature of the text as well. Table 4 below displays this consistent pattern of physical features of the manuscripts and the nature of their texts. Moreover, as far as it could be ascertained, most of the scrolls made of parchment are written in iron-gall ink, while the main texts of the rabbinic scrolls made of leather are written in carbon-based ink.

Table 4 shows us that there is a relationship between the type of text and the main physical features of the scrolls in the majority of cases. Except for no. XIII,

the scrolls containing prayers, i.e. nos IV, V, XIV, XV, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX and XXXI, are written on parchment, usually contain a more sophisticated and hierarchical text layout and are written in a South-western sub-type of the Oriental script. Similar physical features are found in no. III, a scroll containing the Palestinian Targum with Palestinian vowels, as well as in two other scrolls, nos I and II, containing a late *midrash* (*Pirqa de-Rabbenu ha-Qadosh*) and *Hekhalot Rabbati* respectively, and in no. XVIII containing *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*. The textual aspects of these texts require a dedicated specialist analysis. However, according to the preliminary analysis by Dr Vered Raziel-Kretzmer, the liturgical compositions of nos III, V, XIV, XV, XVII, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVIII and XXIX belong to the Palestinian ritual. Of all the liturgical scrolls, only no. XIII (on leather) may be Babylonian, and no. XXVII contains some Babylonian features. The only non-Geniza scroll, the 'Munich Palimpsest' (no. XXXI), also contains early *piyyuṭim* probably belonging to the Palestinian ritual tradition.

The *Mishna* and Babylonian Talmud scrolls, nos VII, VIII, IX and XVI, are written on dark and thick leather, have a very rudimentary array of devices to facilitate navigation in the text and are written in the North-west sub-type of Oriental script. The same physical features are found in no. XIX, a fragment of Targum with Babylonian supralinear vowels, and in three midrashic scrolls, no. VI containing another copy of *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, nos X and XI. No. XXIV is not included in any of these groups; it was produced much later than the other manuscripts and contains children's exercises, which makes it difficult to attribute it to a particular scribal tradition.

Table 4: Comparison of contents and main physical features of the scrolls

Scroll	Text		Material		Text layout		Script	
	Liturgical-related	Rabbinic	Parch-ment	Leather	Hierarchical	Rudi-mentary	South-west	North-east
I		+	○		○		○	
II		+	○		○		○	
III	○		○		○		○	
IV		+	○		?		○	
V	○		○		○		○	
VI		+		+		+		+
VII		+		+		+		+
VIII		+		+		+		+
IX		+		+		+		+
X		+		+		+		+
XI		+		+		+		+
XII		+		+		+		+
XIII	○			+		+		+
XIV	○		○		○		○	
XV	○		○		○		○	
XVI		+		+		+		+
XVII	○							
XVIII		+	○		○		○	
XIX	○			+		+		+
XX	○			+		+		+
XXI	○		○		○		○	
XXII	○		○		○		○	
XXIII	○		○		○		○	
XXIV	n/a	n/a	○		n/a	n/a		+
XXV	○		○		○		○	
XXVI	n/a	n/a		+	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
XXVII	○		○				○	
XXVIII	○		○		○		○	
XXIX	○		○		○		○	
XXX	○		○			+	later	later
XXXI	○		○		○		○	

One is immediately struck by the affinity of the first group of manuscripts, i.e. those written on parchment, with the Palestinian-Egyptian cultural zone. The texts, especially the Palestinian Targum with Palestinian vowels based on the Palestinian reading cycle, point to Palestine or Egypt. On the other hand, the 'Talmudic' group, the manuscripts written on *gewil* with little attention to graphic devices to guide the reader, and written in the North-eastern sub-type of Oriental script, show a Babylonian connection. While it is not possible at this stage to ascertain that these manuscripts were written in Iraq, they certainly emanate from a centre or workshop that followed Babylonian models and practices. Nos XIX and XX, Targum scrolls with Babylonian vowels, and the Babylonian vowels in eight words in no. XVI⁵³ all point in that direction, as does the analysis of the textual features of the scrolls. A detailed textual study of the scrolls is beyond the scope of this paper, but two of the scrolls in the second group, 'on leather', nos VI and XVI, have already attracted scholars' attention. Following a detailed philological analysis of the spelling and language of our no. XVI, Shamma Friedman concluded that it contains an early Babylonian variety of Tannaitic Hebrew.⁵⁴ A Babylonian connection has also been claimed by Marc Bregman in his study of the language of the scroll of *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* in our no. VI. Leather or parchment for scrolls was also used in a Gaonic source as a marker of the difference between Babylonian and Palestinian customs. The Babylonian scholar Pirqoi ben Baboi, who, in a letter to a North African community written at the beginning of the 9th century defending Babylonian customs as opposed to Palestinian ones, pointed out that the *raqq* type of parchment was in common use in Palestine, contrary to the custom of the 'two Babylonian *yeshivot*' who continued applying ancient bookmaking techniques and notably used *gewil*. The prescribed techniques are valid even for the writing of the scroll of the adulteress (Num 5, 19–23), as explained in *Mishna Soṭa* 2, 2 and *TB Soṭa* 17b. Pirkoi ben Baboi added that because of the persecution by the Byzantines (the 'wicked Edom'), the Tora scrolls in Palestine were hidden to protect them from being burnt. As a consequence, there were no model scrolls left by the time the Muslim conquest took place in Palestine, and scribes were no longer trained according to ancient tradition; instead, they used parchment produced by non-Jews to write their Tora scrolls. As Pirqoi pointed out, this recourse to non-Jewish book materials and practices had continued in Palestine up to his time and it began to gain influence in other communities.⁵⁵

⁵³ One word in this scroll contains Tiberian vowels; see Friedman 1995, 22.

⁵⁴ Friedman 1995.

⁵⁵ Ed. L. Ginzburg, *Ginzei Schechter*, II, 1929, pp. 561–562: וכך ה' בשתי ישיבות ובכל ספרים ראשונים וכן ה' בתיבת משה ועד עכשיו לא נהגו לכתוב בריק זה אלא משנים מועטים מפני שמנהג שמד הוא שגור אדום הרשעה הישנים שמימות משה ועד עכשיו לא נהגו לכתוב בריק זה אלא משנים מועטים מפני שמנהג שמד הוא שגור אדום הרשעה

Of course, one should not generalise and claim that the use of leather is related exclusively to Babylonia or to places under its influence.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, for Pirqoi ben Baboi, bookmaking techniques were used as an argument for claiming Babylonian superiority. This shows that two different technological book traditions were clearly perceived as the products of two respective cultural centres in the Gaonic period. It is also the case that Babylonian Talmud scrolls and other scrolls in the North-eastern type of script in our corpus, some of which are not much more recent than Pirqoi ben Baboi's letter, are the ones written on *gewil*, while the scrolls written in the South-western type are on parchment. This relationship between the writing material and text and script is striking. Without claiming categorically that the scrolls made of leather were necessarily written in Iraq, while those on parchment came from Palestine or Egypt, it does seem appropriate to study the respective bookmaking techniques as one example of the numerous cultural differences between the two Jewish centres and the communities that followed their respective teachings.

Abbreviations

AS	Additional Series, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library
BL	British Library
BT	Babylonian Talmud
CUL	Cambridge University Library
ENA	Elkan Nathan Adler Collection, Jewish Theological Seminary New York
Misc.	Miscellaneous, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library
NS	New Series, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library
PT	Palestinian Talmud
TS	Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library

שמד על ארץ ישר' שלא יקראו בתורה וגנוזו כל ספרי תורה מפני שהיו שורפין אותן וכשבאו ישמעלים לא היו להם ספרי תורה ולא היו להם סופרים שיש בידם הלכה למעשה כיצד מעבדין את העורות ובאיזה צד כותבין ספרי תורה והיו לוקחין ריק מן הגוים שעשו לכתוב בהן ספרי עבודה זרה והיו כותבין בהם ספרי תורה מפני שלא בידם הלכה למעשה ועד עכשיו הם נוהגין כך ולא עוד אילא שלמדו אחרים שבכל מקומות מהם והם כותבין ספרי תורה ומחזרין מפני שהוקל וחומר עליהם בדמו ובכתבו. ⁵⁶ For example, an early magical *rotulus*, Ms. Oxford, Bodl.Heb.a.3.31, is composed of sheets of parchment and leather, and its script is of the South-western type.

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Hanna Liss

A Pentateuch to Read in? The Secrets of the *Regensburg Pentateuch*

Abstract: This paper deals with special codicological and palaeographical features of Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52, the *Regensburg Pentateuch*, which was written about 1300. Not only does this manuscript contain *tagin* ('crownlets') on single letters that differ from the usual use of *tagin* found in Tora scrolls, but it also displays the *masora parva* and *masora magna* in a peculiar layout. The marginal Masora includes many commentaries that decidedly fall outside the usual scope of a Masora note. The paper shows that the manuscript's codicological peculiarities refer in many respects to the teachings of the *ḥaside ashkenaz* (the German Pious), who regarded *tagin* and Masoretic notes (to name but a few items) as carriers of the expanded divine revelation.

1 Introduction

The idea that readings of Tora excerpts at Jewish prayer services must rely upon the appropriate scrolls seems every bit as natural and obvious as the fact that nowadays one *normally* prefers to read a printed book. In fact, these two different media can be used together: Atop the pulpit (*bima*) at a modern synagogue prayer service will lie a handwritten Tora scroll. Next to it will be a printed Hebrew version, intended to permit comparative reading and help the reader correct any errors made, and the congregation itself may read the text using a number of printed and often bilingual copies.

This state of affairs, however, seems more natural than it actually is. From ancient times up to the early Middle Ages, the only mobile medium available to write on was scrolls, something that held true not only for the Tora, but for the full *twenty-four books* of the Bible (although not every book corresponded directly to a *single* scroll). Exactly when codices were created and to what end (given that

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scrolls continued to be used for liturgical purposes, including Tora readings and readings of the *Megillat Ester*) is still somewhat unclear even today. On the other hand, R. Yiṣḥaq ben Moshe Or Zarua' (c. 1200–1260) reported that his teachers, R. Yehuda ben Shemu'el he-Ḥasid and R. Avraham ben Moshe, relied upon a sample of *Ḥumash* (i.e., a Pentateuch) with annotations of Targumim for Tora readings, and that this had been explicitly permitted, leading us to conclude that this approach had yet to become truly commonplace.¹

When did the Jews begin to record their traditional (and holy) scripture using codices? Why did scrolls fall out of favor for certain purposes, but not for others? What purposes were there exactly? And in what way did the Jews attempt to express the sacred nature of a *sefer qodesh* through book forms other than scrolls?

These questions are intrinsically related to a further issue. Initially, the fact that, after a certain time, one begins to find codices in the corpus of Hebrew and Aramaic biblical and scriptural tradition² does not necessarily mean anything more than that scripture was ceasing to be put in the form of a scroll (that is, by sewing sheets of parchment together side by side), but by gluing a certain number of nested, singly folded “double” sheets together (three double-sheet layers = *ternio*, four = *quaternio*, five = *quinternio*, etc.).³ In itself, the shape of such a codex reveals little about the function it was intended to serve; criteria such as the number of sheets and layers, the amount of text, the structure of a page (or *mise-en-page*), and the scope and nature of the metatextual elements are more important. Unfortunately, one is quickly forced to conclude that commentary on the subject of scrolls and codices in general (and the more specific subject of the various types of codex dating from the Hebrew High Middle Ages) has thus far amounted to little more than vague suggestion, speculations that have spread through the literature more or less unchallenged following the

1 *Sefer Or Zarua'*, Part 1, *Hilkhot Qeri'at Shema'* #11; see Ta-Shma 1999, 171–185.

2 In the tradition of Judaeo-Arabic Bible codices produced since the 9th century, we currently know of 36 Hebrew Bible manuscripts dating to before the 13th century, six of which are from the 10th century, eight from the 11th century, and 22 from the 12th century (cf. also Tov 2001, 23). The majority of manuscripts of this kind are undated ones, however. The latest estimates classify 5,000 manuscripts from the Hebrew manuscript tradition of the Jewish Middle Ages as biblical (Tora scrolls and codices as well as approximately 24,000 fragments of the Cairo Geniza; with regard to the latter, see the database known as *The Friedberg Geniza Project* <http://www.genizah.org/onlineFGP.htm?type=FGP&lang=eng>; accessed in May 2017; regarding European binding fragments, see the database called *Books Within Books*; accessed in March 2017).

3 For an overview, see Turner 1977; for studies on the history of Hebrew codices, see esp. Beit-Arié 1993; Beit-Arié 2000; Beit-Arié 2003; Beit-Arié 2009; Sirat 2002.

publication of Ludwig Blau's landmark work in the field.⁴ Thus, the following is intended to provide a brief overview of the 'state of research,' followed by an independent and decidedly expanded approach hitherto developed within the scope of Sonderforschungsbereich 933 'Materiale Textkulturen', though further refinement certainly remains to be done.

2 Scroll and codex: the *status quaestionis*

In his study *The Biblical Masorah*, Israel Yeivin devotes a whole two and a half pages to the subject of scrolls and codices.⁵ He differentiates, under the heading of המגילה לעומת המצקף ('A comparison of the scroll and codex'), between 'religious or cultic' (דתי \ פולחני) use for Tora scrolls and 'nonreligious or profane' (חילוני) use for codices, but without bothering to define these types of use in any more detail. Yeivin declares that codices did not exist before 700, and further that, prior to the development of any distinction between codex and scroll, there existed 'profane scrolls' (מגילות חילונית) that contained Masoretic accents, *ga'ya* (or *meteg* marks), and diacritical signs (*niqqud*), but were intended for 'profane' (קריאה חילונית) and not liturgical use and subsequently fell out of favor for largely this reason.⁶ Yeivin's distinction between 'religious' and 'profane' readings is already made problematic by the fact that the fragments of the various scrolls remaining to us often do not permit us to understand what purpose they originally served.⁷ The *pinakes* (Hebrew sing. פִּינָקֶס, Greek sing. πίναξ) known to us from the Tannaitic and Amoraic period chiefly consisted of Halakhic compendia.⁸ The biblical scrolls contained either single books of the Bible or more modest compilations. The rabbinical writings, however, which rather suspiciously discuss the idea of compressing several books into a single entity (scroll),⁹ show that the Jews

4 Cf. Blau 1902.

5 Cf. Yeivin 2011, 3–5.

6 Cf. Yeivin 2003, 3–5; however, he points out one aspect that has seldom been taken into account so far, namely, that the Karaites would always have been reading from a Tora scroll including punctuation and accentuation during their prayer service, since according to Karaite hermeneutics the Masoretic metatext, i.e., punctuation and accentuation, were given at Sinai as well; cf. Allony 1979; Shalev-Eyni 2010, 155, n. 10.

7 For further information on the two Haftara scrolls, cf. Yeivin 1963; Fried 1968; 1993; cf. also Oesch 1979, 115–117.

8 Cf. Lieberman 1962, esp. 203–217.

9 Cf. b. *Bava Batra* 13b; *Massekhet Soferim* (ed. Higger; in Database *Responsa Project* 18) III, 1.5.6. (= pp. 122–125); also compare Blank 1999 on the minor tractates.

were more familiar with and put more faith in the traditional scroll form and the individual recording of biblical books it required, believing it to be more Halakhically appropriate (quite aside from the fact that a single scroll containing Tora, Prophets, and Writings would have been exceptionally unwieldy).¹⁰ In this context, the Tora itself must be construed as a long-standing exception, as it was recorded both ways: as *Ḥamisha Ḥumshe Tora* (or ‘Five Fifths of Tora’), but also as *Ḥumash* (‘One Fifth’), that is, as a single book, although the latter form would not have been used for public readings.¹¹

The answer to the question of when the first biblical codices were created can only be approached through reliance on the oldest known manuscripts, such as the so-called *Codex Cairensis* (written in 895 by Moshe ben Asher). According to the Spanish annalist Avraham ben Shemu’el Zacuto, the so-called *Codex Hilleli* was approximately 600 years old in 1197 and would therefore have been written around 600.¹² Even if that date does seem a little early, all things considered (Sarna himself chose the 10th century to mark the end of the relevant period), it still means that the 7th century plus or minus a little marks not only the introduction of the biblical codex, but also (and more critically) that of vocalization and accentuation systems. This line of reasoning puts the cart before the horse, however; the way in which the connection between the development of the Masoretic codex and the developmental history of the Quran, right down to its vocalization history, is overlooked or disregarded never ceases to amaze me. The geographic and religio-sociological environment of the (Arabic-speaking!) Masoretes (irrespective of whether or not they were Karaites¹³) makes a strong case for an intimate connection: according to Islamic tradition, the Quran (which was originally unvocalized and remained so through the mid- or late 9th century) was initially recorded and passed on in the form of a collection of parchment (*raqq*¹⁴) sheets (*ṣaḥīfa*, pl. *ṣuḥuf*) that were eventually combined to form a codex (*muṣḥaf*, pl. *maṣāḥif*).¹⁵ It is this very concurrence that marks the creation of the great Masoretic codex, given that its purpose was likewise to unify pieces

¹⁰ Cf. also Blau 1902, esp. 57–63; Sarna 1974.

¹¹ Cf. b. *Giṭṭin* 60a: אין קוראין בחומשין בבית הכנסת משום כבוד הציבור (‘Ḥumashim may not be read from inside the synagogue out of respect for the congregation.’).

¹² Cf. Sarna 1974, Introduction.

¹³ Cf. also Dotan 1977; Zer 2009.

¹⁴ On the use of this term in the tradition of Oriental Jews, cf. Haran 1985, 47–56.

¹⁵ Cf. the so-called *Muṣḥaf Uthmān* (cf. *Corpus Coranicum* <http://www.corpuscoranicum.de/handschriften/index/sure/1/vers/1?handschrift=170>; accessed in June 2017). On the Spanish Quran manuscripts from the 11th and 12th century, cf. also Kogman-Appel 2004, 34–38.

of scripture (the twenty-four books of the Bible) into a single codicological unit (*miṣḥaf*¹⁶).¹⁷

With respect to the codices, Yeivin develops an important temporal distinction, one he also qualifies (albeit in a single subclause). According to him, the Masoretic manuscripts written between 850 and 1100 are ‘pure’, cohesively Masoretic metatexts,¹⁸ whereas manuscripts from after 1100 are admixtures of various Masoretic systems and show the influence of grammarians and even biblical interpreters.¹⁹ Unfortunately, this point is left entirely unelaborated. Thus, it remains unclear whether the influence of these grammarians can be seen in the insertion of grammatical explanations or statistical evaluations of grammatical phenomena, or indeed whether such influences might not be interpreted as elements of textual exegesis.

One important aspect that has hitherto largely been disregarded to the best of my knowledge is the fact that many of the older Oriental codices were apparently never bound, as my doctoral student Kay Joe Petzold discovered during a visit to the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg and confirmed on the strength of an indicator already found in the work of Paul Kahle.²⁰ Although these codices are generally (and often rather hastily) described as ‘model’ codices (Hebrew sing. מודגה), they could be interpreted quite differently if this codicologically important aspect were to be studied in more detail and confirmed on the strength of additional evidence; in that event, they could be interpreted as representative samples of a text handed over to the scribes in an unbound, loose-leaf form for them to make multiple identical copies simultaneously. If this were so, the final canonization of Hebrew-Aramaic biblical scripture including accentuation, punctuation, and Masoretic metatext would, indeed, be intrinsically and provably linked to the origin of the codex. To what extent Jews hailing from Judaeo-Arabic

¹⁶ On the term *miṣḥaf*, cf. also Sarna 1974, Introduction, n. 20.

¹⁷ Cf. Oesch 1979, 117. However, he associates the attempt to unify the Tora, Prophets, and Writings in one book, but not with the Quran. It is also worth noting that this aspect is evidence that suggests that the early Masoretes may have been Karaites; producing a single codicological unit may have been an attempt to appreciate the prophetic books and hagiographs in themselves, i.e., not as part of the Tora. On the issue of the Scriptures as sanctuary, see n. 118 below.

¹⁸ Cf. Yeivin 2011, 9.

¹⁹ Thus, it is not surprising that Yeivin (2011) shows an explicit interest in the earliest manuscripts.

²⁰ Codex Firkovich B 19a and *Codex Cairensis* are both stored in a box, unbound and as a loose-leaf collection. On Paul Kahle’s new review of the Cairo Codex of the Prophets on the occasion of a visit he paid David Zeki Lisha’, leader of the local Karaite community in Abbasiye, Cairo on February 20th, 1956, see Kahle 1959, 91.

lands distinguished between *sefer* (book/scroll) and *quntres* (unbound quires),²¹ and what significance was ascribed to these respective artefacts, would be subject to investigation in a separate phase, paying particularly close attention to Judaeo-Arabic (and Karaite) metatexts.

3 Hebrew biblical codices in Western Europe

The emphasis the Israeli biblical scholarship community has chiefly placed on early comprehensive Masoretic Oriental biblical manuscripts²² and the Geniza fragments²³ has caused later European manuscripts (with few exceptions) to exist in something of a scholarly vacuum up to the present day, for they were and are considered philologically without merit. Such a philologically motivated consideration of manuscripts does not fit in very well with palaeographical findings, however, given that the latest estimates classify 5,000 manuscripts from the Hebrew manuscript tradition of the Jewish Middle Ages to be biblical (Tora scrolls and codices, as well as around 24,000 fragments from the Cairo Geniza²⁴). On the other hand, research undertaken in the field of Jewish mediaeval studies that primarily focuses on the art-historical aspects of biblical manuscripts and prayer books²⁵ has yet to yield meaningful philological results. Similarly, codicological and palaeographical treatments, which have recently also begun to discuss European biblical manuscripts, often fail to pay much (if any) attention to Masoretic metatexts²⁶ or the philological side of things.²⁷

²¹ See Liss 2014, 222f. on this very important distinction, particularly for European mediaeval Jews.

²² The earliest examples are Codex Petropolitanus (Ms. St. Petersburg, Codex FirkovichEBP I B 19a [1008]); Ms. *Jerusalem Crown* (Codex Aleppo [925]), and Codex Cairensis (896); on potential later dating of the Codex Cairensis, cf. Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer 1997, 53–55; 67–68; cf. also Shalev-Eyni 2010, 155, n. 13 and the studies by Breuer 1976; Dotan 1971; Glatzer 2002; and Yeivin 1968.

²³ Cf. also Goshen-Gottstein 1962, esp. 35–44.

²⁴ Cf. the online database *The Friedberg Geniza Project* [see note 3]. Regarding the European Hebrew binding fragments, see the online database *Books Within Books*.

²⁵ Cf. for instance Metzger 1972; Narkiss 1983; Metzger 1994; Kogman-Appel 2004, esp. 34–97; Kogman-Appel 2009.

²⁶ For the definition of the term ‘metatext’ as it is used here see Hilgert 2010, 98; Focken/Ott 2016.

²⁷ Olszowy-Schlanger is an exception to this. In describing Ms. London Sassoon 282 = Valmadonna 1, she not only provides purely palaeographic data on script, seams, sewing, ruling, ink, and *mise-en-page*, but also a detailed comparison on vocalization (see Olszowy-Schlanger

In 1963, Moshe Goshen-Gottstein presented his first typology of codex types based on his examinations of the Geniza fragments, which was not merely palaeographically defined, but also provided for various categories of use and function. In this context, he distinguished between ‘Masorah codices’, ‘study codices’ and ‘listener’s codices’.²⁸ By ‘Masorah codices’, he meant those magnificent, comprehensively accented, and vocalized codices complete with *masora parva* and *magna*, which he believed to have been placed in scriptoria so that they might serve professional scribes as exemplars of the craft. ‘Study codices’, on the other hand, were those codices that, despite being vocalized, lacked Masoretic metatexts and were therefore likely intended for a more general audience of readers and students. ‘Listener’s codices’ formed a class of mass-produced, quickly-made, and often sloppy copies of the Pentateuch, used by individual congregants to trace readings at synagogue. David Stern, building on Goshen-Gottstein’s work, suggested a similar differentiation between ‘Masoretic Bibles’, ‘liturgical Pentateuchs’ and ‘study Bibles’.²⁹ However, all these attempts at classification ended up demonstrating that none of the distinguishing criteria used were suitable for geographic and socio-cultural differentiation.

Additionally, both Goshen-Gottstein’s and Stern’s proposed typologies are made questionable by the fact that we know of copies of the Pentateuch that could very well have been intended for liturgical use, but also contain Masoretic metatexts. What is more, there appears to be no reason why comprehensive Masoretic Bibles could not have been used in synagogues. Stern’s contribution therefore also fails to rise above the level of general observation (depending for the most part on the art-historical work of Katrin Kogman-Appel³⁰ and Sarit Shalev-Eyni³¹): he neither makes an attempt at geographic specificity, nor does he even begin to try cataloguing such criteria as one could use to more precisely classify individual (and partial) copies of the Bible.

Yet another point merits our attention: practically every author mentioned has reflexively assumed there to have been some sort of use at synagogue. However, the question of whether one was allowed to read from a (Pentateuch) codex at synagogue was still very much open to debate in the 12th century. Thus, there

2003, 109–140, esp. 129–137), on the interchange of *qamaš* and *patah*, *segol* and *šere*, on the notation of *qamaš qaṭan*, on the consonant *waw* at the end of words, on *dagesh* and *rafe*, *dagesh qal* in the letters BGDKPT, and on the diacritical mark in the letter *shin*, among other things.

28 Cf. Goshen-Gottstein 1963, 35–44 (Goshen-Gottstein always kept writing ‘Massora’ with a double ‘s’).

29 Cf. Stern 2012, esp. 236–240.

30 See esp. Kogman-Appel 2004.

31 See Shalev-Eyni 2010, esp. 2–18.

exists a point of dissent between Ashkenazic and Sephardic *posqim*, or ‘deciders’, on the subject of whether reading from *Ḥumashin*, or editions of the Pentateuch, at prayer service in the absence of a Tora scroll ought to be permissible.³² Spanish, Provençal, and, initially, Northern French scholars³³ allowed such a reading (קריאה הברכה) in the event of a *minyan* being present, but not a scroll;³⁴ Ashkenazic scholars forbade this, arguing that the benediction (*berakha*) said over the ritual reading would then have been for naught (ברכה לבטלה).³⁵

Maimonides,³⁶ in a response, gave permission for *berakha* to be said over *Ḥumash*, and in the process did not differentiate between public reading in the context of a *minyan* and private reading, for both were to be considered *limmud ha-tora* (‘study of the Tora’). In doing so, Maimonides was able to rely on the opinion of the Gaonic *posqim*, who, while considering the question of whether one might read from a non-kosher Tora scroll or one written on *qelaf*, had decided that this ought to be permissible, reasoning that *berakha* was intended to be spoken not over the physical object, but the reading itself (i.e., the act of reading) (והשיב שמוטר לברך שאין הברכה אלא על הקריאה).

Therefore, before one embarks on an attempt, whether general or specific, to reconstruct various ‘*Sitze im Leben*’ and to transplant modern methods of reading and study to the Jewish Middle Ages without bothering to consider the artefacts involved, it seems prudent to begin by establishing a list of criteria that can be used to examine the individual (partial) biblical codices. Any such catalogue, however, needs to concern itself with significantly more than the mere volume of biblical text or Masoretic metatext. With regard to the European biblical manuscripts, for example, one might ask:

1. Which books of the Bible are included in the codex?
2. Does the codex include the Hebrew (or, in exceptional cases, the Aramaic) biblical text only, or the Targum as well?
3. If it includes the (or a) Targum, is it part of the main body of text (alternating with the biblical text), or is it arranged in its own marginal column?³⁷

³² See Ta-Shma 1999, 171–181.

³³ It was not until the era of Rabbenu Tam, who was Rashi’s grandson and R. Shemuel ben Me’ir’s brother and agreed with the Ashkenazic view, that the prohibition was enforced in France; cf. Ta-Shma 1999, 172.

³⁴ Cf. Ta-Shma 1999, 171.

³⁵ See n. 1 above; also see the report by Simḥa ben Shemu’el from Vitry in the *Maḥzor Vitry* (ed. Hurvitz) I, #117, 88, highlighting that the private reading should be completed at the same time as the public reading (לעולם ישלים אדם פרשיותיו עם הציבור שנים מקרא ואחד תרגום).

³⁶ Cited in Ta-Shma 1999, 172.

³⁷ Cf. Attia 2014 for a more extensive and recent treatment of the issue.

4. Is the text arranged in columns? If so, how many are there to a page?³⁸
5. Which metatexts does the codex include? Can notations on sections of *parashiyyot* be found, and if so, what form do they take? Does the main body of text include *petuhot* (open line divisions) and *setumot* (closed spaces), and if so, can one determine whether they refer to the space or line they occur in or the section before or after?
6. Can Masoretic notes (*masora parva*, *masora magna*) or Masoretic secondary sources and compilations (e.g., *Okhla we-Okhla*, *Sefer ha-Ḥilufin* ‘Book of Variants’³⁹) be found?
7. Are there references or even chapter headings, aside from *parashiyyot* notation and other section markers?
8. Does the codex include illuminations, sketches, or Hebrew micrography? How elaborate is the book (color materials, colored illumination, colored passages of text, etc.)?
9. Can Halakhic instructions concerning synagogue use or writing instructions be found in it?
10. Are there any obscure or extravagant notations?
11. Can references to text outside the biblical codex that would help to explain this or that external form be found?
12. Can one see whether certain texts are intended to be *read*? If so, which ones? Are there texts or metatextual elements (such as *tagin*⁴⁰) that are not intended to be read aloud, but rather silently witnessed, whether to aid in more quickly locating part of the text or a liturgical section, to refer to some externality, or to reference additional texts not explicitly written into the codex, but ‘implicitly cited’? Which symbols are simply noted for the sake of completeness?

In the following, I will start a discussion about these criteria by applying them to the *Regensburg Pentateuch* (Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52 #34698) and comparing them with other European biblical manuscripts,⁴¹ with the aim of deconstructing and expanding the typology proposed by Goshen-Gottstein or Stern. Upon closer

38 According to Shalev-Eyni 2010, 4, Oriental codices and a number of European biblical manuscripts have a three-column layout on every page.

39 Cf. Dotan 1976; Ognibeni 1995.

40 See section 4.4 below.

41 Reference manuscripts have been (in order of age): Ms. St. Petersburg Firkovich B 19a (Codex Leningradensis; 1008); London, Valmadonna Trust Libr. 1 (Sassoon 282; 15. *tammuz* 4949 = 1189); Vat. ebr. 468 (La Rochelle, 6. Tishri 4976 = 1215); Vat. ebr. 482 (La Rochelle, 1216), Berlin or. quart. 9 (Northern France, 1233); Vat. ebr. 14 (Rouen, 21. *av* 4999 = 1239).

investigation, it becomes clear that the European biblical manuscripts in codex form, though superficially similar in that they include only the Pentateuch (with or without *Megillot*, and with or without *Haftarot*), actually differ from each other in nearly every other point. The question of why this should be so and what this implies with respect to approaching the individual manuscripts, who was permitted to use these manuscripts, to what end, and in which context he was supposed to use them has thus far barely been posed. In this context, one will only be able to differentiate and classify aspects more precisely if palaeographic, philological/historical, and sociocultural lines of inquiry are given equal weight. Comprehensive praxeological analyses of the handwritten artefacts of the Jewish Middle Ages — in our case, an inquiry into the materiality and presence of the script, including a consideration of its philological, ritual, and Halakhic nature — still need to be done for practically all the Hebrew biblical codices. Similarly, an effort to relate historical source material concerning rituals and Halakha to those artefacts available to us today still needs to be made, and the following is also intended to help satisfy that need. Given this rather preliminary state of affairs, my analysis is, above all, intended to help pave the way for a larger research project.

To begin with, the *Regensburg Pentateuch* will be subjected to palaeographic description, which will then be expanded upon using contemporary source material, or at least source material appropriate to the period in question. It is possible to show that many of this manuscript's idiosyncrasies are difficult or even impossible to explain without the help of external sources concerning *minhag*, Halakha and theological questions. This is intended to account for the fact that, when working with mediaeval manuscripts, one cannot simply content oneself with palaeographic and codicological examinations of the artefacts themselves, but must endeavor to understand the thinking and writing of the human beings who created those artefacts for a specific purpose and interacted with them in a special way.

4 The *Regensburg Pentateuch*

The *Regensburg Pentateuch*⁴² is a manuscript that was probably compiled by two scribes and a total of four Masoretes in Regensburg c. 1300.⁴³ It was possibly commissioned by a rabbi named Gad ben Peter ha-Levi, who is mentioned as the owner of the manuscript.⁴⁴

The *Regensburg Pentateuch* includes the Tora, the *Five Megillot*, the *Haftarot*, the Book of Job, and an excerpt from the Book of Jeremiah (Jeremiah 2:29–8:12, 9:24–10:16). The manuscript has drawn the attention of Israeli art historians, chiefly because of its elaborate illumination; for example, Katrin Kogman-Appel has examined the connection between Sephardic book illustration and the manuscript's illuminations of the sanctuary and the Temple's vessels in Jerusalem (fols 155v–156r).⁴⁵ More recently, Michal Sternthal has provided a thorough codicological and palaeographic analysis in a hitherto unpublished Master's thesis in Hebrew.⁴⁶ Special recognition is due to the fact that Sternthal does not merely concentrate on the iconographic aspects of the five full-page illustrations, but also discusses codicological and philological aspects at various points, thus taking into account not just the authors of the main body of text, but the three or four Masoretic individuals involved as well.⁴⁷

⁴² Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52 [#34698]); cf. the Catalogues of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM), The Hebrew University, http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000180179&local_base=NNLMSS (accessed in June 2017); cf. also the description of the illuminations in the Center of Jewish Art, *The Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art*: http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=treefriend&id=326&f=ntl_localname (accessed in June 2017).

⁴³ The first scribe (David bar Shabbetai he calls himself at the end of book *Devarim* (Deuteronomy), fol. 152r) wrote the Tora and the Book of Esther, potentially a part of Masora as well (cf. Sternthal 2008, 16 n. 44). The second scribe, called Barukh, wrote the remaining parts. On the different Masoretic individuals involved, cf. extensively Sternthal 2008, 15–17, esp. 16, n. 43f.

⁴⁴ Wischnitzer 1935, 305; Sternthal 2008, 17. R. Gad ben Peter from Regensburg was the son of the Jewish money-lender Peter bar Moshe ha-Levi (cf. also Schubert 2012, 59).

⁴⁵ Kogman-Appel 2009; Offenberger 2013, 25 and 56.

⁴⁶ I thank Dr Sara Offenberger, Bar Ilan University, for having placed a copy of Sternthal's book at my disposal.

⁴⁷ Sternthal 2008, esp. 7–19 and 79–101.

4.1 Arrangement and contents of the manuscript

- Tora (including *masora parva* and *magna*): Genesis: 1v–39v; Exodus: 39v–71v; Leviticus: 71v–93r; Numbers: 93v–124r; Deuteronomy: 124r–152r.
- *Five Megillot* (including *masora parva* and *magna*): Esther: 158v–167v; Ruth: 168r–170r; Song of Songs: 170r–172r; Lamentations: 172r–174v; Ecclesiastes: 174v–179r.
- The sequence of the *Five Megillot* is unique among the complete and partial European Bibles we have examined up to this point. Other manuscripts also identified as Ashkenazic have a very similar arrangement (where Esther is recounted first): the London Harley 5706 manuscript (13th century) as well as British Library Add. 9404 and Or. 2786, in which the *Megillot* sequence runs like this: Esther / Song of Songs / Ruth / Lamentations / Ecclesiastes. This is an analogous progression (except that Ruth and Song of Songs switch positions).⁴⁸ The *Megillot* sequence, as well as that of the hagiographies, has yet to be investigated; an in-depth analysis of their content remains to be done.⁴⁹
- *Blessings concerning Tora readings and Haftara*: 179r–180r, followed by the *Haftarot* (incl. *masora parva* and *magna*) for individual and special Shabbatot; 179v–224v; blessings to follow the Haftara reading: 224v–225r.

⁴⁸ Ms. British Library Harley 5706, Add. 9404, Or. 2786 (Margoliouth 1905, vol. 1, #72, 46f.). My thanks to Dr Kay Joe Petzold, for this information, who worked on his Ph.D. within the scope of the collaborative research center SFB 933 ‘Materiale Textkulturen’ (project B04, Gelehrtenwissen oder ornamentaler Zierrat? Die Masora der Hebräischen Bibel in ihren unterschiedlichen materialen Gestaltungen). He examined and compared the most important European biblical manuscripts and commentary manuscripts in this light and made this survey available to me. The information on Mss. Vatican ebr. 14, London, Valmadonna Trust Library 1 (Sassoon 282) and Berlin or. quart. 9 stated here come from Petzold’s survey.

⁴⁹ The sequence of the *Megillot* (and other Hagiographa) may differ significantly in the various (Bible) manuscripts: Mss. München heb. 5 (Rashi’s commentary), Wrocław M1106 (complete Bible), and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana B 30 inf. (complete Bible), which were all written between 1233 and 1239 by the same scribe and *naqdan* Yosef bar Qalonymus for the patron, Yosef ben Moshe, each contain the identical sequence of the *Megillot* (Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Lamentations), Psalms, and Job; cf. Petzold 2013). On the different sequence of the *Megillot*, cf. Ginsburg 1966, 3–4. Anyhow, the custom of reading the *Megillot* on the feasts of pilgrimage was unknown until Geonic times (cf. *Massekhet Soferim* XIV, 18, in: *Massekhtot Qeṭanot, Massekhet Sefer Tora and Massekhet Soferim* [ed. Higger 1930, in: *Responsa Project* 18]).

- *Additional biblical texts:* Job (incl. *masora parva, magna*): 225v–240r; curses from Jeremiah 2:29–8:12; 9:24–10:17; 240r–245r.⁵⁰
- The inclusion of Job and the Jeremiah excerpts strikes one as odd at first. However, they comprise part of the reading for the fast and mourning day of the 9th of Av (*tish'a be-av*).⁵¹ Ms. Berlin or. quart. 9 also places Job directly behind the *Five Megillot*. R. El'azar ben Yehuda of Worms' *Sefer ha-Roqeah* proves that Ashkenazic communities did, in fact, read Job and selected excerpts of the curses of Jeremiah in this way, for it explicitly mandates that 'it is forbidden (on *tish'a be-av*) to read of Tora, the Prophets and the Writings, likewise to learn of the Mishna, the Midrash, Halakhot (anthologies) and Aggadot (anthologies). One must rather read *qinot* (Lamentations), Job and of the curses of Jeremiah'.⁵²
- *Illustrations:* The manuscript includes a total of five full-page illustrations: the *Binding and Circumcision of Isaac*, 18v;⁵³ *Mattan Tora* ('Gift of the Tora'), 154v;⁵⁴ *Aharon, the Mishqan* (dwelling-place) and its equipment, 155v–156;⁵⁵ illustrations of the *Megillat Ester*, 157v;⁵⁶ and *Job and His Friends*, 225v.⁵⁷
- The *Regensburg Pentateuch* is written entirely in Hebrew and does not include a Targum.

50 Such a survey is also provided by the following manuscripts: Princeton University, Sheide Library, Ms. 136 from 1313; and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 14 from 1340, both of which are of Ashkenazic provenance (cf. Sternthal 2008, 7, n. 14).

51 The Babylonian Talmud (bTa'an 30a) states for *tish'a be-av*, a day of fasting, that in private reading only such passages from the Bible and oral teaching are to be read that normally are not read (קורא במקום שאינו רגיל לקרות ושונה במקום שאינו רגיל לשנות). For public reading, in addition to reading Lamentations, the Book of Job and oracles of doom (הדברים הרעים) from the Book of Jeremiah are also mentioned. Nowadays, the Book of Lamentations is read on 'erev *tish'a be-av*, and on *tish'a be-av*, Jeremiah 8:13–9:23 is read as well as Deuteronomy 4:25–40. During the three weeks of mourning between the 17th of *tammuz* and the 9th of *av*, Jeremiah 1:1–2:3; Jeremiah 2:4–28; 3,4, and Isaiah 1:1–27 are read as special Haftarot.

52 Cf. El'azar ben Yehuda, *Sefer Roqeah, Hilkhhot Tish'a Be-Av*, #310 (*Responsa Project* 18): ואסור לקרות בתורה ובנביאים ובכתובים ולשנות במשנה ובמדרש ובהלכות ובאגדות. וקורא בקנות ובאיוב ובדברים הרעים שברמיה.

53 Cf. Sternthal 2008, 20–27.

54 Cf. Sternthal 2008, 27–33.

55 Cf. Sternthal 2008, 34–48.

56 Cf. Sternthal 2008, 48–51.

57 Cf. Sternthal 2008, 52–55.

4.2 *Mise-en-page*

The biblical text is arranged in columns.⁵⁸ At the start of a *parasha* ('section'), the first word of the sentence is frequently written in chrysography,⁵⁹ occasionally underlaid in blue and outlined in red.⁶⁰ The *masora parva* – and this is the first of several exceptional textual elements – is noted on the outer margins of the text, consistently from top to bottom and therefore aligned *vertically*, often in conjunction with writing instructions. The scribe drew fine, red vertical lines, which are frequently very difficult to see, to make the individual Masoretic notes more readable and easier to assign to the main text. Nevertheless, the initial impression is of a colorful mess of Masoretic notes, distributed across several columns (generally six to eight). In the upper and lower margins, the *masora magna* is consistently noted across multiple lines: two per page in the upper margin, and three in the lower margin.⁶¹ The respective *parasha* was consistently noted by a later hand in the gap between the *masora magna* and the main body of text. Commentaries on the *masora parva* as well as the *masora magna* are noted along the inner margin. Latin pagination may be found at the lower right-hand corner of the verso page.

Throughout the Tora section (fols 1v–152r), the codex consistently includes 60 lines of biblical text per sheet, that is, 30 lines per *page* (this figure drops to 20 lines for the Book of Esther). The sheet (Hebrew דף) and page (Hebrew עמוד) structure are unusual in that each *verso* page begins with the letter *waw*, with the exception of six pages where a different letter is used. Those letters, in the chronological sequence of the text, form the words בִּיָּה שְׁמִי (i.e., 'Through YH, His Name'; Psalm 68:5).⁶² Masoretic scribal entries that make the reference to בִּיָּה

⁵⁸ On the size of the manuscript (243 × 185 mm) and the text fields (Tora: 169–179 × 86–115; Esther: size varies), cf. Sternthal 2008, 79–80. The inaccuracy of the conventional distinction between Ashkenazic and French is already evident here. According to Shalev-Eyni 2010, esp. 2–12, French and Ashkenazic manuscripts differ primarily in that French editions of the Pentateuch do not include the Targum for the most part, but rather contain Rashi's commentary in the margin, and the biblical text is arranged in one column, while German editions of the Pentateuch 'traditionally' have a three-column layout and include the Targum (interlinear). Unfortunately, this neither holds true in the case of the manuscripts copied in France, Mss. Vat. ebr. 14 (1239) and Berlin or. quart. 9 (1233), nor in the case of the *Regensburg Pentateuch*.

⁵⁹ Cf. fol. 8v: the beginning of *parashat Lekh Lekha* (Genesis 12).

⁶⁰ On the individual variants produced by each scribe, cf. Sternthal 2008, esp. 93–97.

⁶¹ Cf. Sternthal 2008, 79–80; it is interesting that the *masora magna* in the Book of Esther is noted across four lines in the upper margin and across six lines in the lower margin.

⁶² Genesis 1:1 (בְּרֵאשִׁית), fol. 1v; 49:8 (וַיִּדְרֹךְ), fol. 38v; Exodus 14:28 (הַבְּאִים), fol. 50v; 34:11 (שְׁמִר), fol. 65v; Numbers 24:5 (מִה טוֹבֵי), fol. 114v; Deuteronomy 31:28 (וְאֶעֱיִדָה), fol. 149v. This distinctive

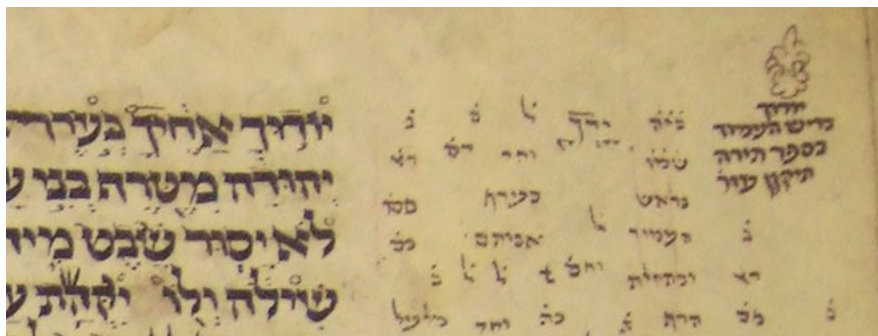


Fig. 1: Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52, fol. 38v. © Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

שמי explicitly clear can be found everywhere in the book except Genesis 1:1.⁶³ In two further places (fols 38v and 50v⁶⁴), the second Masoretic hand⁶⁵ noted the word missing from the sequence (יודיך und הבאים) and appended the following comment: עזרא / תיקון / תורה / בספר / העמוד / בראש (see Fig. 1).

The mediaeval debate concerning Halakha (religious laws) and *minhag* (custom) refers to this layout, wherein every page of a Tora scroll must begin with the letter *waw*, as in ווי העמודים (*wawe ha-‘ammudim*, ‘the *wawim* of [the beginning of] a page’). This expression is derived from the description of the structure of the Ark of the Covenant, Israel’s portable (!) sanctuary in the desert, and more precisely from that of the vestibule (*ḥaṣer*), in which the ‘hooks of the pillars’ are referred to.⁶⁶ That the scribe, David bar Shabbetai, endeavored to implement this idea is made abundantly clear by a comment found on the inner margin, starting at the level of the 13th line on fol. 152r:

(ס)ך הכל העמודים / (מ)אה וחמשים / להעתיק ספרי / (ת)ורה הוא מתוקן / (ב)וי עמודים וס' / ששים שורות / כל
עמוד ועמוד / סוף פסוק בסוף / כל עמוד ועמוד / וביה שמו כתיבן

feature has already been noted by Sternthal 2008, 8, n. 19; she is right in pointing out that the first word on fol. 66v, Exodus 35:19 (את בגדי), does not belong to the group of שמי.

⁶³ Fol. 38v: הדף / בתחלת / העמוד / בראש / שמי / ביה; fol. 50v: בראש / העמוד / ביה; fol. 65v: / ביה / ביה / שמי / בראש / העמוד; fol. 114v: הדף / בראש / העמוד / שמי / בראש / העמוד; fol. 149v: הדף / בראש / העמוד / שמי / בראש / העמוד.

⁶⁴ In fol. 65, a note by the Masorete is recorded: עזרא / תיקון / תורה / בספר / העמוד / בראש / העמוד.

⁶⁵ Sternthal 2008, 15, locates two Masoretic individuals in the section written by a scribe called David (Tora and Esther, fols 1v–167v), who would have been working in parallel and ‘intertwined’, as it were.

⁶⁶ Exodus 27:10.11; 38:10.11.12.17.

In sum, (the number of) pages (amounts to) one hundred and fifty; to copy Tora scrolls, they shall be arranged (in the style of) *wawe ha-‘ammudim*; (namely,) sixty lines to each column⁶⁷ and a verse end to every (recto) page. And, likewise, (exceptions as per) בִּיָּה שְׁמוֹ in accordance with this principle.

A Tora scroll written on *gewil* (compare e.g. Babylonian Talmud *Baba Batra* 15a; Maimonides, *Mishne Tora*, *Hilkhot Tefillin* I, 8–9)⁶⁸ notes the biblical text on one side only, generally on the inner layer adjacent to the flesh. If a Tora folio has been written by following the layout of *wawe ha-‘ammudim*, the *waw* can be seen at the beginning of the page on the upper right, and all sixty lines will be simultaneously visible to the reader (at least in theory). A codex whose individual sheets are inscribed on both sides must therefore note the beginning of a page, using the *waw* on the verso side, to ensure that the sixty lines remain visible to the reader as intended. This also explains the fact that this manuscript — as is true of many Ashkenazic manuscripts, incidentally — has very similar outer and inner layers.⁶⁹ Entries made in the hand of the manuscript’s user/owner in 1601 confirm that this style of page layout had become commonplace by then.⁷⁰

4.3 Section markers

Manuscripts produced as early as those found at Qumran already display signs of textual and sectional structuring.⁷¹ Even now, we only understand this partially, because what documentation and evidence there is seems remarkably inconsistent and heterogeneous. This is all the more surprising given that the rabbinical texts were at first glance in favor of drawing a clear distinction between *petuḥa* and *setuma*, as is shown by a dictum from *Massekhet Sefer Tora*, and that the suitability of a Tora scroll for liturgical use seems to depend on such structuring.

⁶⁷ ‘Column’ (*‘ammud*) in a Tora scroll contains 60 lines per sheet (i.e., a one-sided written *‘blat*’); in this case, the double-sided written leaf (*‘zayt*’) on each page (recto and verso) consists of 30 lines of text in the main text body on each page, i.e., the biblical text.

⁶⁸ Cf. esp. Haran 1985, 33–47. *Gewil* is the thickest skin, from which only the epidermis, i.e., hair and the outermost layer, are removed (*gewil* is effectively synonymous with עור ‘skin’, in rabbinic literature). In contrast, *qelaf* und *dukhsustos* (the hair side) are finer than *gewil* (cf. bShabb. 79b; bMenah. 32a). However, see also the discussion of the diverse terms by Ira Rabin in her contribution to this volume.

⁶⁹ This is also confirmed by Sternthal 2008, 79, who examined the original manuscript. On the work on Ashkenazic manuscripts, cf. for instance Sirat 2002, esp. 102–122.

⁷⁰ Cf. also Sternthal 2008, 11, n. 30.

⁷¹ Cf. Ginsburg 1897, 9–24; Oesch 1979, esp. 165–314; Tov 2001, 50–53.

If an open section was written as a closed one, or vice versa, the scroll had to be stored away. What is an 'open' section? The one which starts at the beginning of a line. How much space must be left at the end of a line so that the section beginning at the next line can be called an open one? (A space on which) a name may be written consisting of three letters.⁷²

The *Regensburg Pentateuch* also indicates so-called 'open' (*petuhot*) and 'closed' (*setumot*) sections by writing the letters *pe* (פ) and *samekh* (ס) in brown and red ink (with an intensity comparable to that of the main text); in certain places, a later hand, using light brown ink, notes departures from a Tora scroll in this regard.⁷³ The scribe, David, clearly understood that a number of varying regional traditions existed with respect to *petuhot* and *setumot*. Prior to the onset of the Book of Esther, he noted his (Ashkenazic) source material (from Regensburg) as well as such (Northern French) deviations as were known to him, though he also remarked that each of the manuscripts he listed was personally handwritten by eminent Halakhic scholars:

(With respect to the) *petuhot* and *setumot* of the Esther scroll, I obtained (them) from a personally (handwritten) manuscript (*ketivat yado*) from R. Yehuda the Pious (*he-Ḥasid*),⁷⁴ son of Rabbenu Shemu'el the Pious, may his soul be bound up in the bond of life: *Also Vashti the Queen* (Esther 1:9) closed; *Then the king said to the wise men* (Esther 1:13) — open (...).⁷⁵ And he who is precise in this regard (והמדקדק), upon him be blessings.⁷⁶

⁷² *Massekhet Sefer Tora* I,10, in *Massekhtot Qeṭanot*, *Massekhet Sefer Tora* und *Massekhet Soferim*; ed. Higger 1930, in *Responsa Project* 18; see also Babylonian Talmud, *Shabbat* 103b.

⁷³ See, for instance, fol. 72r; 75r even three times: ובס"ת סתומה or rather ס ובס"ת סתומה; fol. 88v: ובקצת ס"ת; fol. 89r: ובס"ת אינו כלום; fol. 90r: וברוב ס"ת לא מצאתי שום.

⁷⁴ R. Yehuda ben Shemu'el he-Ḥasid ('the Pious'), born c. 1150 in Speyer — died 1217 in Regensburg.

⁷⁵ Subsequent topics are a list of the open and closed sections starting with Esther 1:16; 2:1; 2:5; 2:21; 3:8; 3:1 (the sequence of Esther 3:8 and 3:1 has, indeed, been interchanged); 4:1; 6:1; 7:5; 8:1; 8:3; 8:7; 8:15; 9:7; 9:10; 9,29; 10:1; the scribe also lists the deviations in the scroll of Esther according to Rabbenu Tam (Ya'aqov ben Me'ir 'Rabbenu Tam' [born in Troyes c. 1100 – died 1171]) and R. Yosef Ṭov Elem (Yosef ben Shemu'el Bonfil Ṭov Elem [c. 980–1050]); and the debate referring to this by Eliyahu ha-Zaḡen.

⁷⁶ In Hebrew: פתוחות וסתומות של מגילת אסתר והעתקים מכתיבת ידו של הרב ר' יהודה חסיד בן רבינו שמואל חסיד תיב"ה. / גם וסתי המלכה סתומה. ויאמר המלך לחכמים פתוחה. ויאמר מומכן פתוחה. אחר הדברים האלה כשך פתוחה. איש יהודי סתומה. בימים ההם ומרדכי? סתומה. ויאמר המן מלך פתוחה. אחר הדברים פתו'. ומרדכי ידע סתומה. / ובמגילת של רבינו תם מכתיבת ידו נמצאת פתוחה שורה. ובמגילת הר' יוסף טוב עלם מכתיבת ידו נמצאת סתומה. ורבינו אליהו הזקן זכור לטוב זקן וקיניו של מרתי אמר מסכס? לדברי רבינו תם לעשותה פתוחה שורה. / בלילה ההוא סתומה. ויאמר המלך אחשורוש פתוחה. ביום ההוא נתן סתומה. ותוסף אסתר סתומה. ויאמר והנה בית המן סתומה. ומרדכי יצא סתומה. ואת פרשנדתא סתומה. עשרת בני המן סתומה. ותכתב אסתר המלכה פתוחה. ובמגילת רבינו תם כתיבת ידו נמצאת פתוחה שורה. ובמגילת רבינו יוסף טוב עלם סתומה. וישם המלך אחשורוש סתו' / והמדקדק' יבא עליו ברכה

The manner in which *petuḥa* and *setuma* are characterized here leads one to conclude that the word *parasha* ought to be appended, a conclusion that is reinforced by the manuscript itself. *Petuḥa* and *setuma* are thus used to describe those sections that follow their respective spaces in the text.⁷⁷ Comparing the list made here with the transcription of the Book of Esther that immediately followed, however, has the effect of highlighting a total of seven discrepancies between David's list and the finished manuscript.⁷⁸

Even in the High Middle Ages, there still existed a great many colorful disagreements on the subject of *petuḥot* and *setumot*. This is made clear by the fact that Maimonides (1135–1204), in his *Mishne Tora, Hilkhot Tefillin, u-Mezuza we-Sefer Tora* VIII, 1, 2, and 4, chose to make a thorough study of this very subject, as part of which he listed (in VIII, 4) the entire corpus of *petuḥot* and *setumot* in the Pentateuch, simply to put an end to the general confusion.⁷⁹ For the purpose of this analysis, representative samples of *petuḥot* and *setumot* were taken from the Book of *Wayyiqra* (Leviticus) and contrasted with selected European manuscripts from France and Ashkenazic lands as well as the Codex Leningradensis.⁸⁰ In several places, the *petuḥot* and *setumot* marked in the *Regensburg Pentateuch* are at odds with those of Maimonides and the other manuscripts.⁸¹

⁷⁷ The fact that no agreement on this was reached in mediaeval Jewish texts has already been pointed out by Oesch 1979, esp. 49–59.

⁷⁸ Esther 1:9: open (instead of closed); Esther 2:21: open; Esther 6:1: open; Esther 7:5: closed (instead of open); Esther 8:1: open; Esther 8:3: open; Esther 9:29: closed. Sternthal 2008, 12, n. 31, notes four deviations.

⁷⁹ Maimonides, *Mishne Tora, Hilkhot Tefillin, u-Mezuza we-Sefer Tora* VIII, 4: ולפי שראיתי שיבוש גדול בכל הספרים שראיתי בדברים אלו, וכן בעלי המסורת שכותבין ומחברין להודיע הפתוחות והסתומות נחלקים בדברים אלו במחלוקת הספרים שסומכין עליהם, ראיתי לכתוב הנני כל פרשיות התורה הסתומות והפתוחות וצורת השירות כדי לתקן עליהם כל הספרים ולהגיה מהם, וספר שסמכנו עליו בדברים אלו הוא הספר הידוע במצרים שהוא כולל ארבעה ועשרים ספרים שהיה בירושלים מכמה שנים להגיה ממנו הספרים ועליו היו הכל סומכין לפי שהגיהו בן אשר ודקדק בו שנים הרבה והגיהו כהנא ורוב רבותו כמו שהעתיקו ועליו סמכתי בספר. התורה שכתבתי כהלכתי. See Penkower 1981 on the question of whether the codex from Egypt mentioned here is identical to the codex recognized today as the Aleppo Codex (*Keter Aram Sova*).

⁸⁰ The examinations of Ms. St. Petersburg, Codex Firkovich EBP I B 19a here are based on the digital facsimile (PDF format) of the manuscript; the edition of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) has turned out to be markedly erroneous once again, also in terms of the issues raised here.

⁸¹ Maimonides notes a total of 52 *petuḥot* and 46 *setumot* in the Book of Leviticus. The *Regensburg Pentateuch* differs from the list in *Hilkhot Sefer Tora*, 26 times entirely and six times in part; a *petuḥa* is listed 8 times instead of *setuma*; three sections are denoted as *setuma* instead of *petuḥa*; there are seven cases of additional *petuḥot*, and seven of additional *setumot*.

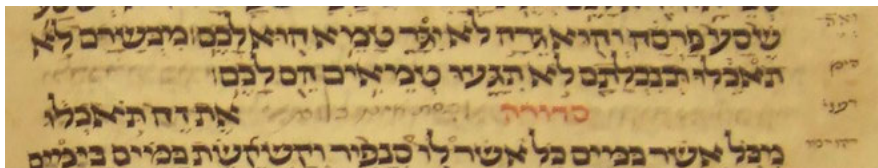


Fig. 2: Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52, fol. 78v. © Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

Sedura: (If) a man writes, and the line goes through the middle or to the (last) third and stops, and (if he then) begins to write on the line placed underneath, and (if) he does so at the precise place (where the text stopped) in the above line, then that is a *sedura*. I found it explained this way in an older *siddur*.⁹⁰

This explanation does indeed correspond to the form of *sedura* found in the *Regensburg Pentateuch* (see Fig. 2).

These section markers can also be found in Codex Firkovich EBP I B 19a, Ms. London, Valmadonna Trust Library 1 (Sassoon 282; 1189) and Ms. Vat. ebr. 14 as well as in later European biblical manuscripts. However, they are not always identified as such. Codex Firkovich EBP I B19 a and Vat. ebr. 14 have a three-column layout on every page, whereas Vat. ebr. 468 and 482 have two columns – and herein might lie the explanation of the existence of *sedura*. It would appear that the *sedura* form replaced *petuḥa* in cases where a line simply contained too little text (i.e., too few letters) to permit the insertion of a suitably large space at the end that could have been used to introduce a *petuḥa*. In that event, however, these distinctions are not motivated by content so much as by concerns about form, concerns that are intimately related to page layout.

The *Regensburg Pentateuch*, aside from the *sedura*, also provides a definition of שורה (*petuḥa shura*),⁹¹ i.e., a *petuḥa* following on the heels of a blank line (typically represented by a simple ׀ in that same line).

Arba'a Turim, *Yore De'a* paragraph 275 (ed. *Responsa Project*), he points out a different model, opposing the one mentioned in *Maḥzor Viṭry*, and mentions that this model was introduced by his father, R. Asher ben Yehi'el (known by the acronym ROSH, רא"ש; c. 1250–1327). Also see Oesch 1979, esp. 47f.

⁹⁰ On the term *siddur* in the Hebrew sources of the Jews in 12th- and 13th century Northern France (*ṣarfāt*), see Lehnhardt 2007, 66, n. 5.

⁹¹ Fols 8v; 17v; 20r (mentioned as alternatives); 27r; 27v; 28v; 30r; 115r, et al. The term is also explicitly mentioned as פתוחה שורה in the list of *petuḥot* and *setumot* within the Book of Esther, fol. 158v.

4.4 *Tagin*

One of the peculiarities of the *Regensburg Pentateuch* is the manner in which it decorates certain letters with so-called *tagin* (sing.: *taga* טָגָה / טָגָה)⁹², or decorative ‘crowns’/ ‘crownlets’.

There is no common consensus on *tagin* in rabbinical and medieval literature: the Babylonian Talmud (b. *Menaḥot* 29b) says that seven letters in a given Tora scroll (*shin*, ‘*ayin*, *ṭet*, *nun*, *zayin*, *gimel*, and *ṣade*; the mnemonic is טָגָה שֶׁנִּזְכָּר) ought to be specially ornamented.

The Talmud (b. *Soṭa* 20a) makes reference to a *taga* on the letter *dalet*; the letter *quf*, too, was apparently so adorned (b. *Shabbat* 104a; b. *Eruvin* 13a). According to b. *Shabbat* 89a and b. *Menaḥot* 29b, Moshe encountered God himself, tying crowns (*ketarim*) to the tops of letters; God, upon being asked why he would do such a thing, responded that R. Aqiva (in the future) would be able to derive untold numbers of Halakhic rules from each ‘tittle’ (sing. *qoṣ*) (b. *Menaḥot* 29b; cf. b. *Eruvin* 21b). Compared to this tale, the account provided by *Massekhet Sofrim* seems very thin: *Massekhet Soferim* IX,1 can only offer a reference to four *tagin* on the *bet* of the first word of the Tora (*be-reshit*). R. Moshe ben Naḥman (Ramban; 1194–1270), in the introduction to his Tora commentary, relies on the rabbinical account in b. *Menaḥot* 29b, but enhances this with an (unfortunately lost) Midrash story from the *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim*, according to which King Hezekiah showed the *Sefer Tagi* to the Babylonian delegation of Merodach-Baladan. Maimonides counted the *tagin* on the individual letters of ‘*tefillin*’ and ‘*mezuzot*’ (sixteen, all told), but ruled that a departure from that number, whether positive or negative, would not have the effect of making the ritual object unusable (*pasul*).⁹³

The rabbinical sources considered it self-evident that *tagin* would be noted on (as of yet unvocalized) consonant text, and most certainly on a scroll, because codices were not yet in use for sacred texts. We therefore have no information on what was intended to happen to *tagin* in the event of a scroll’s being transcribed to codex form. To the best of my knowledge, the Oriental Masoretic codices (Ben Asher / Ben Naftali School) did not make a practice of adding *tagin* to letters.⁹⁴

⁹² Cf. Targ Cant 3,11.

⁹³ Maimonides, *Mishne Tora*, *Hilkhot Tefillin, u-Mezuza we-Sefer Tora* II:9.

⁹⁴ So far, Codex Firkovich EBP I B 19a, the remaining parts of the Book Deuteronomy from the Aleppo Codex (www.aleppocodex.org; accessed in June 2017), and the *Regensburg Pentateuch* have been checked.



Fig. 3: Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52, fols. 71v/72r. © Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

Modern Tora scrolls assign three *tagin* to each of seven letters (ש, ע, ט, ו, ז, א, ק), one to each of five (ב, ד, ה, ח, ק), and none to the remaining nine (מ, נ, ס, ת, פ, צ, ל, מ, ר).⁹⁵ I have yet to find any evidence of this custom in more ancient sources.

The *Regensburg Pentateuch*, however, completely fails to note these ‘regular’ *tagin* assigned to the letters ש, ע, ט, ו, ז, א, ק, instead making use of *tagin* which the *Sefer Tagi* either lists as exceptions or fails to mention at all (see Fig. 3). The *Sefer Tagi* is a rather mysterious source in its own right. It can be found as part of the *Mahzor Viṭry*. The version included in Hurvitz’ edition⁹⁶ was also recorded in Ginsburg’s *Massorah*⁹⁷ (with minor discrepancies). Ginsburg’s lists and those of the *Mahzor Viṭry* do not quite tally with each other, and given this background, it is hardly surprising that the *Regensburg Pentateuch* makes use of yet another tradition. Some special *tagin* cannot be found, but a number of others can, and these are left unmentioned by what has hitherto been considered the relevant source material.

A representative analysis was made of the text of Leviticus 1:1–5:26. We were able to show that the *Sefer Tagi*’s (list of) letters featuring special *tagin*, as reproduced in the Hurvitz edition of the *Mahzor Viṭry*,⁹⁸ is largely a match for our

⁹⁵ Cf. *The Torah Reader’s Compendium* (Gold 2004 ad loc.).

⁹⁶ *Mahzor Viṭry* (ed. Hurvitz 1963), vol. II, 674–683.

⁹⁷ Ginsburg 1883, vol. II, 680–701.

⁹⁸ *Mahzor Viṭry* (ed. Hurvitz 1963), vol. II, 674–683. However, it can be said restrictively that a critical edition of the *Mahzor Viṭry* is yet to be made. The lore of *Sefer Tagi* in Hurvitz’ edition goes back to Ms. London Add. 27200–27201 (Margoliouth No. 655; mid-13th century; cf. Margoliouth 1905, vol. II, 273–74) and is only contained in this handwritten tradition.

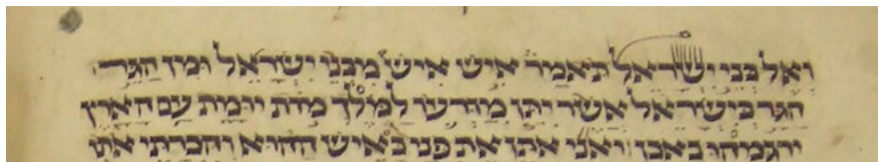


Fig. 4: Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52, fol. 80v. © Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

manuscript.⁹⁹ The manuscript itself fails to mention or explain this, and even the *Sefer Tagi* merely lists the consonants in question in chronological order.¹⁰⁰ What is more, there apparently existed a number of variant approaches: the *Sefer Tagi* of the *Mahzor Viṭry* refers to additional *tagin* on the word *ישראל* in Leviticus 20:2, which can be found on fol. 86v of the *Regensburg Pentateuch* and do, indeed, adorn the first *ישראל* (see Fig. 4), whereas Ms. Valmadonna 1 applies these *tagin* to each of its three iterations of *ישראל*.

Ultimately, though, this is nitpicking and fails to address the question of why *tagin* are noted in the first place, and moreover why *tagin* were chosen that differ from those of a Tora scroll. This, at the very latest, is where Sternthal's suggestion that the *Regensburg Pentateuch* was a 'model' codex designed to assist in writing Tora scrolls falls short or breaks down. Before we use the next section to address this question, we ought to make a brief study of the Masoretic notes and other metatexts that form part of the *Regensburg Pentateuch*.

4.5 *Masora parva* and *masora magna*

Sternthal discerned a total of four Masoretic scribes;¹⁰¹ to some extent, they apparently worked together. The *masora parva* encloses up to nine columns per page and is written vertically. The individual columns are separated from one another by brown or red lines (some of which are quite difficult to see today). The *masora magna* is noted in the upper and lower margins and encloses 2–3 lines per upper and 3–5 lines per lower margin.

⁹⁹ There are five deviations with respect to the letter *he* (22 listed verses); *mem sufit* (1×): no deviation; *samekh* (3×): no deviation; *pe* (10×): one deviation; *šade* (1×): no deviation; *resh* (3×): no deviation.

¹⁰⁰ *Mahzor Viṭry* (ed. Hurwitz 1963), vol. II, p. 674: ואני הלביל אסדר כל אותיות גדולות וקטנות ומשונות ותגיהן בכל סידרא וסידרא לבד לבד.

¹⁰¹ See note 42 above.



Fig. 5: Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52, fol. 58r. © Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

A clean distinction between *masora parva* and *masora magna* cannot always be made, however. The marginal *masora* includes much more commentary than would be par for the course in an Oriental codex; it contains a number of textual elements that fall decidedly outside the usual scope of an *masora parva* note. Occasionally, this even rises to the level of including excerpts of Midrash, as may readily be seen in fol. 58r: the expression *הרונמה השעית השקמ*, from Exodus 25:31, makes use of the *plene* rendition of the *nif'al* form *השָׁעִית*.¹⁰² The Oriental codices mostly display incorrect spelling and present some short *masora parva* notes on the occurrence of the *nif'al*-form.¹⁰³

Ms. Jerusalem 180–52 provides the complete design context (must be read vertically; see Fig. 5): *ז' ו' חס' ודין מלי ורמז שעתיד שלמה י' מגורו* ('the *nif'al* form (עשה)ת

¹⁰² Most of Western European Hebrew biblical codices use this *plene* spelling, such as Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana B 30 inf. (copied in 1236); Ms. Oxford Bodleian Library, Kennicott 3 (Neubauer 2325; 1299); Ms. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 468 (La Rochelle, 1215); Ms. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 482 (La Rochelle, 1216); and Ms. New York, Public Library, Spencer Collection 1 (Xanten, 1294). On the debate about the orthography of this verbal form and the Masoretic discussions on this issue in Jewish Bible commentaries from Northern France and England, see Liss 2013, esp. 1127–1130.

¹⁰³ Cod. Vatican ebr. 448 (ed. A. Diez Macho, *The Pentateuch with the Masorah Parva and the Masorah Magna and with Targum Onkelos* Ms. Vat. ebr. 448. 5 vols, Jerusalem: Makor 1977, fol. 119v) notes the letter *yud* as י (not as 10x!) as *masora parva*, presumably to point out the *plene* spelling or the numerical equivalent ten; St. Petersburg Codex Firkovich EBP I B 19a notes י, i.e. this word occurs seven times in its *nif'al* form in the Bible (Exodus 25:31; 35:2; Leviticus 2:7; 11; 6:14; 23:3; Nehemiah 6:9; the reference to three *plene* spelling refers already to the word *מגור*).

occurs seven times, is written incorrectly six times, and rendered *plene* here as a reference to the ten *menorot* that Shlomo would erect in the Temple').¹⁰⁴

Thus, our scribe, in just a few strokes of the quill, turns a statistical blip into a major point of exegesis. Such examples are found throughout the work and demonstrate that the scribe responsible for this Pentateuch (or perhaps the man who commissioned it) was interested in crafting a written Tora into which an oral Tora could be integrated through statistical annotations. How much was integrated into the Masoretic notes alone is a question that can only be answered with the help of a detailed editorial study.

4.6 Metatext and peculiarities of script

The letters of the *Regensburg Pentateuch* are unusual in a number of respects. The letter *pe* is occasionally rendered as *pe lefufa*, for instance, where the beginning of the letter is rolled up to form a spiral. Such idiosyncratic letters can also be found in Ms. Valmadonna 1, for example. Other idiosyncrasies concerning particular letters occur in accordance with a number of references listed in the *Maḥzor Viṭry*.¹⁰⁵ These peculiarities of script are very clearly intended to be merely seen and not read aloud, because neither the unusually formed letters nor those ornamented with *tagin* are pronounced in a different way; only the design of the *scripture* changes.

Certain idiosyncrasies of script have led one to see a 'model' codex in the *Regensburg Pentateuch*, designed as a template for scribes with the task of writing Tora scrolls. Accordingly, David the scribe periodically makes a note of prescriptions created for the writing of scrolls, such as the injunction (in two separate places) that a gap of at least four blank lines be left between two books of the Bible.¹⁰⁶

The observations made thus far should suffice to make my point. It has been shown that the *Regensburg Pentateuch* is a special manuscript, and one that merits more than just consideration from a palaeographic point of view; it requires the reader to be familiar with certain Halakhic rules, discourses, or theological and exegetic interpretations – content that must be discovered *underneath the*

¹⁰⁴ Cf. 1Kgs 7:49; see also *Tan Beha'alotkha* 3.

¹⁰⁵ On the idiosyncratic letters and specific features of the page layout, cf. *Hilkhot Sefer Tora* in the *Maḥzor Viṭry* (ed. Hurwitz 1963), vol. II, 658–674.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. fols 39v and 71v (in red ink): ארבעה שורות מלאות פתוחות בין ספר לספר; cf. already *Massekhet Sefer Tora* II:5 and *Massekhet Soferim* II:4, in *Massekhtot Qeṭanot*, *Massekhet Sefer Tora* and *Massekhet Soferim* (ed. Higger 1930, in *Responsa Project* 18).

façade of the manuscript's external form – and the manuscript was intended to show how important such content was to the people who interacted with it. A representative effort along these lines will be made in the final part of this paper, based on the information provided by the *wawe ha-'ammudin* and the *tagin*, in an attempt to better approximate a possible function of our manuscript in the context of religious life and thought in 12th and 13th century Ashkenazic Germany.

5 Masterminds behind the manuscript

5.1 The debate surrounding the making of a *sefer Tora*

The rule that a *sefer Tora* be rendered in sixty lines to a sheet is found in the work of Rabbenu Tam¹⁰⁷ and is thus (only) proven to have existed as of the 11th century. Likewise, the prescription according to which each page of the Tora¹⁰⁸ must begin with a *waw* is not found in the classical rabbinical 'smaller tractates', *Massekhet Soferim* and *Massekhet Sefer Tora*. In light of this fact, it hardly seems surprising that the scribe would want to backdate this prescription to Ezra (who was occasionally called '*Ezra ha-Sofer*'), though such a connection is far from (Halakhically) obvious.¹⁰⁹ On the contrary, as Israel Ta-Shma has shown, this matter was the subject of serious dissent, which Ta-Shma characterized as having taken place between scribes (*soferim*), or 'artists', and Halakhic authorities, or 'intellectuals'.¹¹⁰ Ta-Shma identified this debate as having occurred during the active period of R. Me'ir ben Barukh of Rothenburg's life (also known as MaHaRaM) in the 13th century.¹¹¹ Me'ir's position is recounted by one of his students, who does not exactly mince words while discussing that of his *soferim* contemporaries who recorded Tora using the *wawe ha-'ammudin* layout:

That which the ignorant ones (among the) scribes do, namely that they begin each page with a *waw*, is called *wawe ha-'ammudin*, (and on the contrary) it seems to me (to be) absolutely

107 Cf. *Maḥzor Viṭry* (ed. Hurwitz 1963), vol. II, 655: ושיעור שורות דף ששים.

108 The Tora scroll is inscribed on one side only.

109 *Tiqqun Ezra* is located in the Hebrew (High) Middle Ages, when a reference to the (proto)-rabbinic period became necessary. This is why the term is not found in rabbinic literature; cf. also Bernheimer 1924, 207, n. 1.

110 Cf. Ta-Shma 1996, 99–104.

111 R. Me'ir ben Barukh of Rothenburg, c. 1215 (in Worms) – 1293 (in Wasserburg a. Inn); cf. Hans-Georg von Mutius 1990.

Ta-Shma assumed that this debate had already been festering for a while by the time it was first recorded.¹¹⁶ Because David bar Shabbetai was very clearly copying from a manuscript traceable to the circles of the *ḥaside ashkenaz* (or ‘the Pious of Germany’),¹¹⁷ it seems probable that the original impetus for this opinion came from there as well. The accompanying debate, dated by Ta-Shma to the 12th or 13th century, is basically still continuing today, something that is made obvious by the fact that Ta-Shma did not make use of a single artefact as evidence in his discussion of the phenomenon.

The *Regensburg Pentateuch* is not a *sefer Tora* (a Tora scroll), however, but a codex. If, therefore, a codex is created in the style of a Tora scroll, employing the *wawe ha-‘ammudim* layout, then some sort of connection between sacred entities, between a holy place (the Ark of the Covenant) and holy text, is clearly being aimed at. Naphtali Wieder, drawing on a passage from Aharon ben Asher’s *Diqduqe ha-Ṭe’amim* in 1957, argued for a certain equation of sanctuary and scripture, for an analogy between the Holy of Holies and the Tora, and for the idea that such a comparison had apparently been made even in ancient times.¹¹⁸ Here, then, at the very latest is when the sacred-entity attribute of an artefact would have been made manifest in codices, and, indeed, in the 11th century, the Spanish expatriate and resident of Northern France and England, Ibn Ezra, described the Masoretes, who were the ones to introduce the biblical codex, as ‘guardians of the walls of the holy place’ (*shomre ḥomot ha-miqdash*).¹¹⁹ If codices had a sacred aspect comparable to that of *sefer Tora*, then, owing to their external form, they would have helped meet one important theological need, arising from the custom that scrolls (up to the present day) may not be vocalized, accented, or enhanced with Masoretic metatexts or in any other way aside from invariable *tagin*. However, such additions had always been part of oral teachings, the *tora she-be‘al pe*, which can only represent the Tora as the complete revelation of God in conjunction with the written teachings (*tora she-bikhtav*). Therefore, the integration of this oral Tora could very well be interpreted as increasing the sacredness of the artefact. For the Oriental codices of the 9th to 11th centuries, this aspect would need to be separately elaborated upon using the artefact itself and/or metatexts.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Ta-Shma 1996, 99.

¹¹⁷ Cf. the scribal note in fol. 158r, which explicitly mentions R. Yehuda he-Ḥasid and his father: פתוחות וסתומות של מגילת אסתר והעתקתים מכתובת ידו של הרב ר' יבודה חסיד בן רבינו שמואל חסיד תנייני'.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Wieder 1957, esp. 166–168.

¹¹⁹ Cf. also Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Moznayyim* (ed. Sàenz-Badillos): וזה המקדש הם ספרי הקדש ‘And the sanctuary, these are the holy scriptures’.

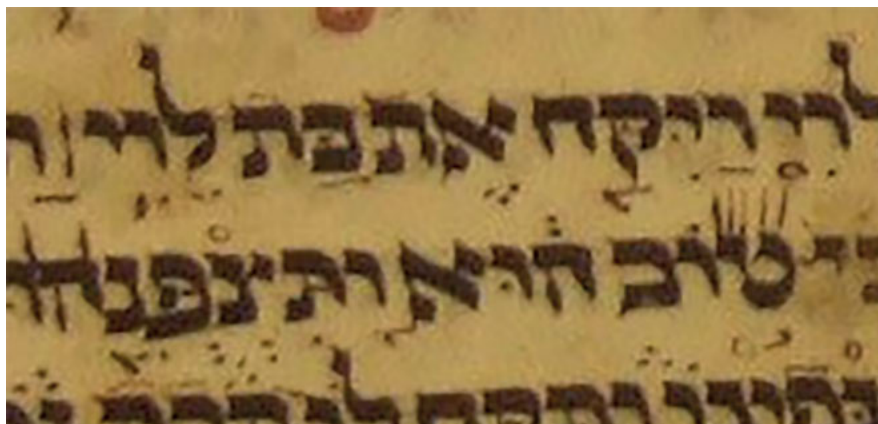


Fig. 7: Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52, fol. 40r. © Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

In the case of the *Regensburg Pentateuch*, the *wawe ha-'ammudin* layout serves to demonstrate the phenomenon for first purposes. In the following section, a preliminary explanation of the integration of special *tagin* will help make things clearer.

5.2 The significance of *tagin* in the 'esoteric' *Bible commentaries*

A number of very illuminating explanations of *tagin* can be found, particularly in the context of the exegetic commentary on the Books of Exodus and Leviticus, that are reflected by the *Regensburg Pentateuch* in one way or another.

Exodus 2:2, the story of the birth of Moshe, includes the passage: ... 'and when she saw him that he was a goodly child' (כי טוב הוא). The *Regensburg Pentateuch* boasts a *ṭet* with five *tagin* (see Fig. 7), an idiosyncrasy also found in Ms. Valmadonna 1 (fol. 4v):

The manner in which these *tagin* are arrived at was explained by Ya'aqov ben Asher (1238–1340) in his commentary on Exodus 2:2:

He was a goodly (טוב) child: Five *tagin*, two on the *ṭet*, one on the *waw*, and two on the *bet*, to say (already here) that he (Moshe) will eventually receive the *Five Fifths of Tora*, for of these it is said: For I give you good doctrine (לקח טוב) (Prov 4:2).¹²⁰

¹²⁰ *Ba'al ha-Ṭurim Ḥumash* (ed. Gold) ad loc.; a critical edition of this commentary is still to be made; parallels can be found in Yehuda he-Ḥasid's *Ṭa'ame Mesoret ha-Miqra*; R. David Qimḥi's *Eṭ Sofer*, R. Me'ir ben Todros ha-Levi Abulafia's *Masoret Seyag la-Tora*; R. Menaḥem ha-Me'iri's

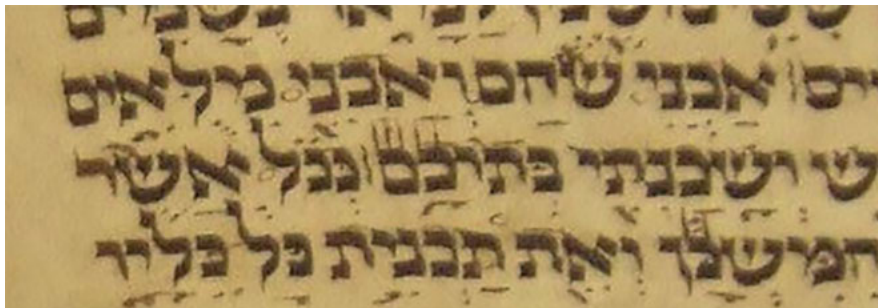


Fig. 8: Ms. Jerusalem IM 180/52, fol. 57v. © Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

The word ‘goodly’ (טוב) is used to unite Moshe and Tora. With the help of the *tagin*, this initially rather tenuous connection is made formal and manifest through the use of the five-count (five *tagin*/five books of Tora). An additional effect is to enhance the story of Moshe’s birth with an allusion to his future purpose. The *Regensburg Pentateuch* (likewise Ms. Valmadonna 1) was certainly familiar with the significance of the five-count, but placed all five *tagin* atop the *ṣet* instead of distributing them over the whole word טוב. The *Maḥzor Viṭry* is unfamiliar with these special *tagin*,¹²¹ as are the Oriental codices. Quite obviously, there existed a number of different traditions concerning *tagin* in the High Middle Ages.

Another example: the context of the construction of the Ark of the Covenant, which has already supplied an example for the elaborate *masora parva* commentary on תִּפְעֻסָּה (Exodus 25:31), is also noteworthy on account of several features of its *tagin*. Thus, in fol. 57v (at the beginning of Par. Teruma Exodus 25:1), special *tagin* may be found on the final *mem* and the *kaf* of the expression וְשָׁכַנְתִּי בְתוֹכָם ‘that I may dwell among them’ in Exodus 25:8 (Fig. 8).

These *tagin*, which are recorded in the *Maḥzor Viṭry* as well,¹²² are also used in the (presumably pseudepigraphic) Tora commentary of R. El‘azar ben Yehuda of Worms (1165–1230), who in his time was the greatest student of R. Yehuda he-Ḥasid, whom we have repeatedly mentioned, and resided in Worms. Among other things, he says the following about the verse in question:

And let them make me a sanctuary; that I might dwell among them (בְּתוֹכָם) (Exodus 25:8): They shall make me a holy place. Instead of בְּתוֹכָם (‘among them’)¹²³, read בֵּיהַ בְּתוֹךְ מִ (‘BYH

Qiryat Sefer, and in a Masoretic treatise by R. Me’ir ben Barukh of Rothenburg.

¹²¹ *Maḥzor Viṭry* (ed. Hurwitz 1963), vol. II, 678.

¹²² *Maḥzor Viṭry* (ed. Hurwitz 1963), vol. II, p. 679.

¹²³ Numerical value: 2+400+6+20+600.

among 600')¹²⁴ [...] the *shekhina*¹²⁵ does not dwell (among a group) of fewer than 600, like the value of the closed *mem* (= final *mem*), and the reference (made) through the two *tagin* (to just this *mem*, which in turn refers to) the first and the second sanctuaries.¹²⁶

This is about as complicated as it gets. The final *mem* has a numerical value of 600 (and this is the number that draws the attention of the first half of the exegesis). We, however, are primarily interested in the second half, which engages in interpretation using *tagin* that appear not only in our manuscript, but likewise in the commentary of El'azar of Worms, and that are at last used for exegetic purposes: two *tagin*, one of which refers to the First Temple, the other to the Second, the two dwelling-places of God among the Israelites. The Ark, with the help of which God will dwell 'among them', does not refer to the First and Second Temples merely because it is likewise a sanctuary; on the contrary, that exegetic and theological connection is implemented visually using *tagin*.

The *tagin* – and this ultimately holds true for every last crown – are graphical entities that are intended to (and must) be seen, but cannot be read. They are more than mere decorative elements, for they divided readers into categories, just as they do today: the reader who sees the word בְּהוֹכֵם, equipped with these special *tagin*, and is familiar with this form of exegesis will not think of the simple meaning, 'among them', alone; he will realize that a reference to the First and Second Temples is being made. He must not (and cannot) say it out loud; he will simply see it for what it is. And likewise, no matter how adept a reader be at Hebrew, or how well he know the Pentateuch, if this form of exegesis is unfamiliar to him, he must read this *Pentateuch* as he would any other. The secrets of oral Tora (sing. *remez*; *sod*) hidden in the *tagin* would simply be inaccessible to him.

And this is as it should be: not everyone ought to understand this, as a so-called *Sefer Tagi*, surviving as part of a manuscript containing certain writings by R. Yehuda he-Ḥasid and his student R. El'azar ben Yehuda of Worms, whom we have now repeatedly encountered, tells us. This '*Sefer Tagi*', however, is more likely actually a sort of commentary on the *Sefer Tagi* referenced earlier in the paper and on *tagin* in general.¹²⁷ Right off the bat, it includes an injunction to copy the book, but to keep this a secret (*sod*).¹²⁸ In order to understand the connection,

¹²⁴ Numerical value: 2+10+5 + 2+400+6+20 +600.

¹²⁵ The rabbinic term *shekhina* refers to the biblical *kavod* ([God's] glory).

¹²⁶ Tora Commentary of R. El'azar ben Yehuda of Worms, ad loc.

¹²⁷ Ms. Oxford Opp. 540 (Neubauer 1567), fol. 236r–264v (cf. Neubauer 1886, 548; there is still no critical edition of this text).

¹²⁸ Ms. Oxford Opp. 540 (Neubauer 1567), fol. 236r: סֵפֶר תַּגִּי אֵת זֶה תַּעֲתִיק וְכָאן סוֹד. R. El'azar of Worms always tried to render the secret (*sod*) of the holy language (סוד לשון הקודש) as well; cf. the

one must make use of the significance of *tagin* as ‘vectors’ for oral teachings. That significance is likewise explained at the beginning of the book:

What is on the front and the back page,¹²⁹ what is above and what is below before you, all that is written, and the *tagin*: be very careful that you record the oral insights, and if you say: is it (oral insights meaning the Oral Law) not already before him, then that (already) means: *these are the teachings that Moshe presented to the children of Israel*.¹³⁰ If you pay attention to the letters, pay close attention to the *tagin*; if you pay attention to the scripture, pay close attention to the Masora. And what if someone were (then) to say: ‘Why is all this recorded in allusions, and not explicitly written down?’ (This is so because) their heart was (still) pure in the days of Moshe, they knew everything, and nothing was hidden from them, for Moshe (himself) had taught them for forty years – for is it not said: *it is not too hard for thee*,¹³¹ likewise is it said: *This is no trifling matter for you*,¹³² [...] but because the holy one, praise be to him, saw the heart of Israel in that hour in which they were (all) wise, (therefore) did he expand (the material) and arrange for them the Tora [...], but (arranged for) an abridgement with respect to the *qal wa-homer*, the *gezerot shawot*, the thirteen *middot* (of R. Jishma'el), and the thirty-two rules (of R. Eli'ezer), for had he written everything out with respect to every secret (*remez*), how (then) could he have tasked every man of Israel with the writing of his Tora Scroll?¹³³

And so the reasoning comes full circle. Back in the time of the revelation of Tora, each person was a member of the elite (‘that hour in which they were [all] wise’), which is why both written and oral teachings were so comprehensively and thoroughly received.¹³⁴ But the Eternal God came to a realization – namely, that he had himself commanded that the people of Israel write *sifre Tora*¹³⁵ – and he likewise knew that if one had already tasked them with writing down such

introduction in Urbach 1963, 110f.

129 Cf. Ezekiel 2:10.

130 Deuteronomy 4:44.

131 Deuteronomy 30:11.

132 Deuteronomy 32:47.

133 Ms. Oxford Opp. 540 (Neubauer 1567), fol. 236r: מה לפנים מה לאחור מה למעלה מה למטה לפניך כל מה: 236r: שכתוב ותגין בין תבין בינה ליכתוב בינה לבעל פה ואם תאמר והלא אינה לפניו כבר כתי' וזאת התורה אשר שם משה לפני בני ישראל בין האותיות תבין תגין בין המקרא תבין המסורת ואם יאמר אדם למה כתוב ברמיה ולא כתב בפירוש לפי כי בימי משה היה לבם פתוח והיו יודעים הכל ואין דבר נעלם מהם כי משה לימדם מ* שנה וכת' לא נפלאה היא ממך וכתוב כי לא דבר רק הוא וכן לחכמים ברמיה כי אילו היו כל אדם חכמים כמלאכים לא היו צריכים שתהא התורה אפילו כך רחבה אלא לפי מה שראה הקב"ה את לב ישראל באותה (באותו 111) שעה שהיו חכמים לפי זה האריך וסידר להם התורה וחם על ממונם של ישראל וקיצור להם בקל וחומר בגזירות שוויות ביג* מידות בלב* שערם שאילו היה מפרש כפי רמז היאך יחייב כל אחד מישראל לכתוב לו ספר תורה.

134 On fol. 236, *Sefer Tagi* describes Israel's stay in the wilderness as conducive to their learning of the Tora, since no one had to worry about daily food or be afraid of any enemies (ועוד לפי שהיו (ישראל אז חכמים ועוד מי שנה היו פנו יי' ללמוד בלא צער ובלא דאגת מזונות ובלא פחד מן האויבין).

135 Cf. Deuteronomy 31:24–26.

extensive teachings, said teachings might equally well be recorded not in full, but *be-qiššur* (in shortened form), i.e., with the help of palaeographical idiosyncrasies. The *tagin*, just like the page layout of *wawe ha-'ammudim* or the *masora parva/masora magna*, are therefore carriers of the expanded divine revelation.

The various (later) owners of the manuscript showed they were well aware of this. One latter-day user read the Tora text with an eye to certain word combinations, looking for chains of four words in which either the first or the last letter of each word in the chain could be combined to form a four-letter name. On fol. 68r, he marked the last letters of the sequence ואמה רחבו ואמה וחצי from Exodus 37:10b and noted the following in the margin: 'the four-letter name out of the last letters (read) backwards'.¹³⁶ Similar name speculations are found in the *Book of the Divine Name (Sefer ha-Shem)* by R. El'azar ben Yehuda of Worms.¹³⁷

Such messages were only easy to decipher for the new *ḥaside ashkenaz* elite or their descendants; and, in a copy of the Tora like the *Regensburg Pentateuch*, they are so cryptic (and encrypted) that understanding them poses a significant challenge even today. What is more, it is still unclear how much of a hand the 'page guardians' (the so-called *shomer quntres*) had in 'protecting' these secrets.

6 Results

Thus far, the *Regensburg Pentateuch* has only revealed a portion of its secrets to us, but more than enough information has been gleaned to show that this manuscript is a practically paradigmatic example of why a codicological and palaeographic approach, though certainly important, is nevertheless insufficient by itself should one wish to examine not only the manuscript itself, but the people who interacted with it — who used it and read in it.

We have seen that this particular Pentateuch includes far more than 'just' biblical text. The written content, including the *tagin*, combines with it to form a level of meaning above (or *behind*) the text, and as such serves to support a semantic layer that transcends the text, can be approached in a number of ways, and, most importantly, is not readily apparent. We were able to show just how approachable it can be by examining representative samples of metatexts. The manuscript's secrets would be impossible to unlock were it not for these

¹³⁶ השם של ארבע בסופו תיבות למפרע; on similar glosses (fols 1v; 132r et al.), cf. also Sternthal 2008, 11, 30.

¹³⁷ Cf. also Liss 1998; Liss 1999.

metatexts, because the scribe declined to let us know why he put *tagin* on the Hebrew letters the way he did. It is possible that he deliberately refrained from doing so; if so, then it is indeed a *torat ha-sod*, a secret teaching, as was typical of the *haside ashkenaz*.¹³⁸

The manuscript also includes metatexts that provide instructions on the subject of writing. In this case, they are not intended merely to add up to some sort of ‘model’ codex serving as a template for writing Tora scrolls (although the manuscript certainly could have been used for that purpose),¹³⁹ but more likely to permit and enable the production of a Pentateuch with sacred properties, comparable to a Tora scroll. If we consider R. Yehuda he-Ḥasid’s opinions on Hebrew books in general,¹⁴⁰ we must again conclude that this manuscript represents a person’s attempt to create a definitive artefact, one designed to represent divine revelation, a *sefer qodesh*. However, unlike Tora scrolls, the sacred character of the artefact depends less on its being performed¹⁴¹ and more on what is actually written on it. In the course of time, the idea became entrenched that what is written (biblical text; *tagin*: *masora parva* and *masora magna*; metatexts in red, etc.) in its capacity as a representation of divine revelation cannot and should not be given a clear or fixed meaning. It is this aspect of semantic ambiguity, which can also be portrayed positively – as infinite semantic variety – that makes the manuscript truly valuable, something that held just as true for the manuscript’s contemporary readers as it does today.¹⁴² The five *tagin* on the letter *tet* may hide many more links, beyond the one to Tora. Who is to say it is a coincidence that our manuscript includes five full-page illustrations, or that the Book of *Wayyiqra* (Leviticus; *Torat Kohanim*) contains five *sedurot*, or that the letter *he*, with respect to its *tagin*, departs from the *Maḥzor Viṭry* in five distinct ways? Because we now know, thanks to R. El’azar ben Yehuda of Worms, that there is an infinite variety of exegetic possibilities out there to choose from, our work has really only just begun.

¹³⁸ Cf. Liss, 1997, esp. 193–202; Liss 1998.

¹³⁹ Cf. Sternthal 2008, 11, n. 29; 19.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. more recently Liss 2014.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Liss 2014, esp. 181–83.

¹⁴² One has to admit that any attempt to edit such treatises reaches its editorial limits in that the graphic representation of the *tagin* does not convey how varied their semantic content is.

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Andreas Lehnardt

Shedding Light on Metatron – Recently Discovered Fragments of Mystical Writings in Germany

Abstract: Texts with mystical contents are very rare among the Hebrew binding fragments discovered in German libraries and archives. One newly discovered fragment in the Gotha Research Library contains part of an unknown mystical composition. The text consists of mystical speculations about the Hebrew alphabet and allusions to the *Book of Creation* (*Sefer Yešira*) and its mystical interpretation of letters. The anonymous author also depicts the role of the angels en passant, especially the function of Metatron. This unknown text may have been written by the followers of the German Pietists (*ḥaside ashkenaz*) at the end of the 14th century.

1 Introduction

A great number of fragments of bindings from mediaeval works in Hebrew have been brought to light in recent decades – mainly in Austria, Hungary, Italy, Poland, the Czech Republic and France, but also in other European countries as well. In Germany,¹ one of the most important regions in Europe regarding this kind of manuscript research, mediaeval and early-modern bookbinders also reused parchment from mediaeval manuscripts for profane purposes, including manuscripts written in Hebrew.² Despite many attempts by scholars, mainly from Germany and Israel, however, no substantial, systematic effort was made to search for and identify these hidden remnants of Jewish writing in public institutions such as archives and libraries for many years. After the reunification

A first draft of this paper was presented at a recent conference entitled ‘Judaism in Transition’, which was held in Berlin in 2013. Further versions of it were read at the conference of the European Association of Jewish Studies (EJS) in Paris in 2014 and at CSMC, the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at Hamburg University, in 2015. I am grateful for all the remarks and comments made on my presentations.

1 See Lehnardt 2010.

2 For earlier research on the phenomenon, see Campanini 2014.

of Germany in 1990, though, many libraries and archives were opened anew and new cataloguing projects were started involving manuscripts penned in Latin, German and Arabic. Some of these are still going on. Most of them have brought a considerable amount of new and unexplored material to light. In view of these projects and the task of searching for and identifying a large number of newly discovered fragments of Hebrew parchments, there now seems to be an urgent need for a systematic approach to be taken to this kind of work.

2 ‘Genizat Germania’

Since the start of the research project nicknamed ‘Genizat Germania’ in 2007 (financed by the German Research Foundation), we have brought to light a considerable number of important Hebrew manuscript fragments that are not just of statistical relevance: hundreds of previously unknown fragments have been described and catalogued, some of which were found in libraries and archives in small towns and other places. Most of these newly found pieces contain parts of well-known texts and compositions such as *maḥzorim*, biblical books, Talmudic literature, and Halakhic compendia.³ Very few fragments that have come to light in recent years actually include unknown material, like an unidentified *maqama* I published in another volume.⁴ One of the other rare fragments that were discovered is a page of a seemingly lost Geonic work on money-lending, a fragment written in 12th-century handwriting and discovered in a Latin host volume kept on the shelves of the Diocesan Library of Mainz.⁵ The text mentions the names of the late 9th-century Ge’onim Rav Naḥshon and Moshe Ga’on, thereby defining the earliest possible time for this Hebrew manuscript to be preserved in book bindings in Germany.

Other important fragments published as part of the ‘Genizat Germania’ project include a leaf of a mediaeval commentary on the Books of Chronicles⁶ and an illuminated page from a *maḥzor* with the special *piyyuṭim* for Purim depicting a Haman tree, one of the few fragments that preserve coloured illuminations. This parchment leaf was discovered on a wooden book cover.⁷

³ For a statistical overview with typical results, see Lehnardt/Ottermann 2014, 27.

⁴ See Lehnardt 2013a.

⁵ See Lehnardt 2012a.

⁶ See Lehnardt 2013b.

⁷ See Lehnardt 2012b.

The Hebrew parchment fragment that I wish to present in the following article comes from an unknown and seemingly lost composition on mystical philosophy. Some of its characteristics are shared with several other works from the Middle Ages, but are not absolutely identical to any of them. The parchment was discovered in a host volume from the 14th century kept at the Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha), which is now one of the joint libraries of the University of Erfurt.⁸ Despite my having had many conversations about this Hebrew text with colleagues and research assistants, it is still something of a mystery to me. Who was its author? And when was it compiled?

In seeking to answer these questions, I am aware of the fact that the following article relates to an exceptional case in which the new tools of modern fragment research such as web-based open access research machines (Google books, Hebrew books.org or the Bar Ilan Responsa project [version 20+]) are unable to provide enough information to identify an unknown Hebrew text.

3 Mystical writings represented in the fragments

Mystical texts are rarely found among the fragments discovered in the European Geniza; with one notable exception in Italy, almost no fragments with mystical or Kabbalistic contents have been identified to date.⁹ This outcome of the project surely indicates that manuscripts reflecting these thoughts were copied and produced to a much lesser extent than biblical or rabbinical manuscripts. In addition to that, most of these texts might have been composed and most of the manuscripts transmitting them might have been copied at a much later point in time than the bulk of the other texts identifiable among the book-binding fragments. We can also learn from complete manuscripts containing mystical texts that these writings were much more frequently copied on pieces of parchment of a smaller format that were unsuitable for the secondary usage of binding books. In the findings of the Cairo Geniza, the number of pieces attesting the spread of mystical writings is also relatively small,¹⁰ therefore any discovery of a fragment from this genre of Jewish mediaeval literature in the European Geniza deserves particular attention.

⁸ On the history of this collection and the institution which houses many more Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts, see, e.g. Persch 1893; *Orientalische Buchkunst in Gotha* 1997, 17–40; 221–222; Richler 2014, 84–85.

⁹ For a definition of the term ‘mysticism’ and the adjective ‘mystical’, see Schäfer 2009, 1–9.

¹⁰ See *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, Schäfer (ed.) 1984.

3.1 Italy

A brief overview and comparison with the evidence in the Italian Geniza might help us to understand these observations better. Saverio Campanini, writing in a survey article based on findings in Emilia Romagna, said in 1988 that all in all, nearly 30 fragments with mystical contents had been identified;¹¹ twenty-four of them belong to the works of the Italian Kabbalist Menaḥem Recanati (1250–1310).¹² Other pieces of parchment contain Moshe ben Naḥman's *Commentary on the Tora* (Ramban; 1194–1270).¹³

None of these fragments belong to the genre of 'pure' Kabbalistic literature, however, even though they transmit mystical interpretations of biblical phrases and narratives.¹⁴ Originally, they were Bible commentaries. With the exception of Recanati's writings, only a few lines of other Kabbalistic works have come to light in binding fragments so far, one being the commentary by 'Azriel of Gerona (1160–c. 1238) on the *Sefer Yešira*.¹⁵ Other works of Kabbala such as the *Sefer ha-Bahir* or the *Zohar* are absent among the fragments in Italy, as in the whole European Geniza, even bits of pieces of major magical compositions such as *Sefer ha-Razim*.

Campanini concluded his remarks on the Kabbala in the Italian Geniza by summarising: 'We have legitimate reason to hope that we will find additional fragments of completely unknown works'.¹⁶ As far as I know, however, no further Kabbalistic writings have been identified among the fragments in Italy since then. Additional evidence of the scarcity of mystical writings in the European Geniza now comes from Germany.

3.2 Germany

The number of Hebrew fragments with Kabbalistic or mystical contents is quite small in this country. First of all, a fragment of the aforementioned commentary on the Tora written by Moshe ben Naḥman has been identified among bindings of

¹¹ Campanini 1988.

¹² On his life and works, see, e.g. Idel 2011, 106–138.

¹³ See *Perush ha-Ramban 'al ha-Tora*, Chavel (ed.) 2005; *Nachmanides' Commentary on the Tora*, Chavel (transl.) 1973–1999.

¹⁴ On this point, see Dan 2012, 330–370.

¹⁵ Campanini 1988, 43–44. On this commentary and related commentaries, see Scholem 1962, 330; Dan 2012, 303–329.

¹⁶ Campanini 1988, 42.

a file at the State Archives in Karlsruhe.¹⁷ This fragment has been detached from its host file, so both sides of the parchment can be read. The Hebrew text, however, only contains portions of Moshe's commentary on the Exodus of Ramban. It is written in a small, 15th-century, semi-cursive script and looks more like a reader's digest than a complete copy of the known work. In the web-based catalogue of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts in Jerusalem, the fragment has been catalogued under the title of *Sodot ha-Tora*, i.e. 'Secrets of the Tora'.¹⁸

Up to now, only one fragment of a manuscript of *Sefer Hasidim* has been identified among the binding fragments found in Germany. This fragment was discovered in the 1960s and has been described by Ernst Róth¹⁹ but without identifying its contents or author. It was only described correctly later, presumably at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts in Jerusalem, and could therefore be included in the *Princeton University Sefer Hasidim Database (PUSHD)* of this important handbook of the *haside ashkenaz*.²⁰

What might be of greater interest in this context is the fact that I have also discovered several new, previously unknown leaves with commentaries on numerous *piyyuṭim*, some of which transmit early mystical interpretations of well-known festive prayers. I do not wish to go into any detail here, though, as there are other research projects going on at the moment that deal with the sources of these commentaries. It should be noted, however, that these liturgical fragments certainly need further research.

Another fragment that was detached from the outer cover of an account book entitled 'Seheimer Ampts Rechnung' is now kept by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin State Library).²¹ This fragment contains unknown parts of a commentary on the Hebrew Bible called *Midrash Sekhel Tov*, compiled by Menaḥem ben Rabbi Shlomo (12th century).²² The text mentions explanations of the Hebrew

17 Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 69 von Helmstatt A 2295. See the Archives' online catalogue: <https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/ofs21/suche/ergebnis1.php> (last accessed 19 September 2017). According to this entry, the fragment might have belonged to a file from Neckarbischofsheim, where the von Helmstatt family kept an aristocratic estate.

18 A similar manuscript is known in Italy: see Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 89. sup. 118. The script and size of this manuscript are not identical to the fragment in Karlsruhe, however.

19 See *Hebräische Handschriften*, vol. 2, Striedl/Róth/Tetzner 1965, 66 (Hs. 483,29, III).

20 See https://etc.princeton.edu/sefer_hasidim/ (last accessed 20 February 2016).

21 Steinschneider Nr. 34 – Ms. Or. Fol. 707 Nr. 6.

22 See Buber 1900–1901. Regarding this work, also see Stemberger 2011, 395–396. Another fragment of the same manuscript was identified by Simha Emanuel (Jerusalem) in Rüsselsheim's Municipal Archive. This fragment had already been published by Ernst Róth in 1981/82, although its author was not identified. My thanks to Simha Emanuel, who shared his research on these

alphabet, and several macro-forms of Hekhalot literature and related works are even mentioned on folio 1 recto:²³ *Alfabeta de-Rabbi 'Aqiva*, *Ma'ase Merkava* and *Sefer Hekhalot*.²⁴ As remarkable as it may seem, however, this observation adds weight to my claim that mystical works like the ones mentioned above were not very widespread.

3.3 Fragments in Erfurt/Gotha

The most exciting find concerning our topic was made recently in the cover of a host volume preserved at the Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha) near Erfurt. The existence of Hebrew parchment fragments at this renowned library was made public a long time ago,²⁵ but so far, no systematic attempt has been made to search for and identify all the Hebrew fragments known to us at this public institution in Thuringia.²⁶ Many new fragments were identified here between 2012 and 2014, mainly containing texts from *maḥzorim*, pages from several Masoretic Bible manuscripts and a few Talmudic fragments. Only one fragment contains unknown or unrecognisable bits of text; its Hebrew text is different to any of the edited and searchable texts we currently know of from mediaeval Ashkenaz. Some of the expressions in it indicate it was written during a certain period and by a certain author, at least. Although I am unable to name its author or identify its contents with any confidence yet, this piece seems worthy of further study, especially in view of the fact that texts on mystical philosophy are so rare among the finds that have been made in book bindings so far.

fragments with me. A new edition of these lost parts of *Midrash Šekhel Tov* will be published by Emanuel shortly.

23 I owe this observation to Saskia Dönitz (Berlin).

24 Regarding these writings and their contents, see Schäfer 1992, 7f.; Schäfer 2009, 242. On *Alfabeta de-Rabbi 'Aqiva*, also see Dönitz 2003, 149–179.

25 See Michaelis 1772, 196–209; Michaelis 1773, 239–252; Michaelis 1773, 244–247; Michaelis 1774, 238–244; Michaelis 1789, 240–244; also see Diederichs 1775.

26 See Jaraczewsky 1868, 116. For a recent overview of all the known fragments in Erfurt up to 2014, see Lehnardt 2014, 142–165.

4 A fragment of an unknown mystical text

The manuscript fragment mentioned above was part of a bifolio that was reused as a wrapper on the inner spine of a file. The parchment is 30.5 × 16 cm in size and each column has nearly 25 lines of text in it. The width of each column is 18.8 cm, and the left-hand edges of the column are straight. Only 12 cm of the upper half of the columns still exist. Some lines have been crimped into the host volume's spine, causing several words to become illegible. The parchment was damaged during the binding process, it seems, as a sharp, vertical cut runs through more than half of it. On the verso page, only a small strip of the second column of the text remains. The Ashkenazic semi-cursive script that is used resembles similar scripts of the 13th and early 14th century. Several correction marks and a gloss on the outer margin (verso) were added by the same scribe who wrote the manuscript, as these are in the same hand; the corrections were possibly introduced during the copying process or soon after it. Additional corrections and additions to the text were made between the lines of the Hebrew text as well. Thus, it seems likely that the fragment is a copy of a lost *Vorlage*. The copy does not seem to have been made very carefully, however.

4.1 The contents of the fragment

The fragment has preserved the beginning of an original work that is no longer known and/or is now lost. It starts with the doubled phrases *aṭhil da*, 'I will start this', and the abbreviations עמ"י עש"י ('am'y 'as"v) for the biblical verse in Psalm 121:2 ('*Ezri me- 'im adonai 'ose shamayim wa- 'ares*). These phrases are known from other works and were often used to express the acknowledgement of God's assistance at the beginning of a text.²⁷ The fragment then continues with a benediction of 'the hidden God' (האל המסתתר מכל דעת) and a quote from the book of Job 12:22, a famous verse often cited in philosophical and mystical literature, for example. Interestingly, the author adds that God 'hides Himself from all reason' here (line 2), an expression which resembles Se'adya Ga'on's (d. in 942) intro-

²⁷ These phrases were used quite often, not only by Ashkenazic writers and copyists. They often appeared at the beginning of mystical writings. We do not know when these abbreviations were introduced or by whom. See, for example, *Sefer Gematriot of R. Judah the Pious. Facsimile of a Unique Manuscript*, Abrams/Ta-Shema (eds) 1998, unnumbered front page of the facsimile, or later Kabbalistic works.

duction to his commentary on the *Sefer Yešira*, where the same verse from Job is cited.²⁸

The text then progresses, describing how God has faith in his people and showing how he revealed His secrets to the righteous. He founded his covenant with Abraham and gave his Tora to his sons, thereby providing them with ‘the path of his wisdom’ (נתיב חכמתו), again a well-known phrase from the *Sefer Yešira*.²⁹ His sons can be close to him and serve as ‘contemplators of his name’ (חושבי שמו), the text states.

Further on, it describes two ways to gain full understanding: exegesis (or pounding) of scripture, and observation of God’s revelation in nature, which is applicable to rational thinking. Man’s condition, however, is one of being ‘a species among species and a messenger’ (אנו מין בין המינים ובעלי המסרים), which makes God incomprehensible to mankind.³⁰ God can only be described by language, but language can only differentiate and abstract certain phenomena (lines 15–16). Inasmuch as men are creatures and objects to be changed, they cannot fully grasp his essence (line 18).

The fragment then goes on to present an example (*mashal*), which the reader is supposed to keep in mind (line 19): fire can reveal the one power in heaven, and it provides insights into the distinction between essence and the attributes of its effect. This power, which is comparable to fire or light, be it in the form of a candle or a lamp, cannot be touched or conceived. There is a different power, which does not change itself. This *mashal* seems to be a reflection on a passage in Se’adya Ga’on’s philosophical magnum opus, *Sefer Emunot we-De’ot*, in the Hebrew translation by Yehuda ibn Tibbon.³¹

What follows seems to be a digression from this well-known argument, although due to the poor condition of this part of the fragment, it is not entirely clear what the author wants to stress. The effect of the power can only be compared with the relationship between a lender and a borrower, the author says (verso line 1). The author then goes on to provide some insights into the hidden

²⁸ See *Sefer Yetzirah [Kitāb al-mabadi] ‘im Perush ha-Gaon Rabbenu Se’adya bar Yosef Fayyumi*, Kafah (ed.) 1974, 18. On this commentary, see Brody 2013, 48; see also Dan 2009, 56.

²⁹ On this phrase, see section 1 of *Sefer Yešira*, see Hayman (ed.) 2004, 49, 52; see also Herrmann (ed.) 2008, 10–11.

³⁰ The terms used in this part of the fragment are not entirely clear, and they are not familiar from other sources either.

³¹ See Se’adya ben Yosef Fayyumi, *Sefer ha-nivhar be-’emunot u-we-de’ot (Ha-’emunot we-ha-de’ot)*, Kafah (ed.) 2005, 22; Saadia Gaon, Rosenblatt (transl.) 1948, 21. On using fire as a philosophical example, also see *More nevuḥim*, Schwarz (ed.) 2002, vol. 1, 125; *Der Führer der Unschlüssigen*, Weiss (ed.) 1995, 171, note 9; *The Guide of the Perplexed*, Pines (transl.) 1963, 120 (I 53).

meaning of the letter *alef*, the letter at the start of the famous phrase in Exodus 3:14: *Ehye-asher-Ehye* (line 3). In the word *El*, the letter stands for *eḥad*. In this context, the fragment mentions an earlier commentary written by the same author. It remains unclear which commentary is meant, however, and whether this remark refers to another work or a commentary on the same text. Since the fragment alludes to the *Sefer Yeṣira* here, one might also guess that he is referring to a commentary on that book, presumably the commentary attributed to El'azar ben Yehuda of Worms (who died in 1238).³²

The author then continues, explaining that every word with an *alef* is empowered by the hidden force of God, the first power (*koah rishon*) (line 19). He subsequently mentions the six angels of death known from earlier rabbinic traditions³³ and alludes to the power of angels.³⁴ In this context, he also refers to the angel Uri'el, who sheds light on Metatron, *Sar ha-Panim*. The famous angel Metatron,³⁵ a close companion to God, is depicted here as the sole messenger of God's essence. It remains unclear whether the light of Uri'el (lit. 'God is my light')³⁶ shines on Metatron or if the light of Metatron reflects the light he receives from God, however. In rabbinic tradition, Uri'el is an angel who stands on one side of the godhead. Judging by the philosophical wording of the initial text, it seems likely that Metatron serves as a transmitter of the power that shines from the hidden face of God.

The next part of the fragment clearly refers to the third chapter of the *Sefer Yeṣira*.³⁷ The letter *alef* rules (*himlikh*) the air/wind and He made him a crown. In a short passage on the letters *alef*, *mem* and *shin* (אמ"ש), the author seems to allude to the commentary on the *Sefer Yeṣira* attributed to Moshe ben Naḥman.³⁸ This section, however, has also been integrated into a similar version of the commentary on the alphabet in *Sefer Sode Razaya* compiled by El'azar of Worms.³⁹

32 Regarding this work, see *Sefer Sode Razaya le-Rabbenu El'azar mi-Germaiza*, Weiss (ed.) 1991, 11. Also see *Sefer Yeṣirah*, Goldschmidt (ed.) 1894, 39. Also see Dan 2011, 511–519.

33 In early mystical literature, this was often מלאכי הבלה. See *Alfabeta de-Rabbi 'Aqiva, Nusah bet*, in *Bet ha-Midrash*, Jellinek (ed.) 1967, 50; also see the Targum Pseudo-Jonatan Ex 12:23; מ"ה in the right-hand margin. On the term in rabbinic literature, see Schäfer 1975, 65–67.

34 On angels in early mystical literature, see Schäfer 1988, 266. On rabbinic concepts of angels, see Rebigier 2007.

35 Regarding the vast literature on Metatron, see the more recent contributions by Orlov 2005, especially the summary of early former research on pp. 92–96; Schäfer 2013.

36 See Margalio 1988, 5–10.

37 Section 32 of the *Sefer Yeṣira*, see Hayman (ed.) 2004, 121, and Herrmann (ed.) 2008, 42–43.

38 Actually, this commentary was written by Azri'el of Gerona. See Scholem 1962, 330.

39 See *Sode Razaya ha-Shalem*, Elimelekh (ed.) 2004, 16.

This may be an important clue to the provenance of the person who wrote the fragment.

In sum, the content of the fragment clearly forms a kind of prolegomenon to a longer composition on mystical philosophy. It refers to earlier works such as the *Sefer Yeşira* and its commentaries. This work and its early philosophical interpretation stimulated *ḥaside ashkenaz* to write and compose further explanations. The newly discovered fragment therefore clearly belongs to what Joseph Dan once called ‘the third phase in its reception history’.⁴⁰

4.2 Preliminary conclusions about the fragment

Even though there are no identical texts, its structure and context are comparable to other works, especially commentaries on the Pentateuch culled from Northern French and Ashkenazic exegetes. One striking example is a complete manuscript now kept at the Vatican Library under the shelfmark ebr 48, called *Pa’aneah Raza*.⁴¹ This unedited text shares some characteristics with our fragment: it starts with the same phrases, *athil da’* and *‘ami asu*, and even some of the above-mentioned Bible verses are cited in this compilation. The specific relation to other complete texts such as the commentaries on the *Sefer Yeşira* from the school of Rabbi El‘azar of Worms and other longer mystical tractates from the 14th century still needs to be investigated, however. In the meantime, one can only summarise by saying that the author of our new fragment absorbed and transferred earlier thoughts and motifs. He reinterpreted older – perhaps even ancient – concepts mainly grasped from the *Sefer Yeşira* and its commentaries, largely stemming from Se‘adya Ga’on, El‘azar of Worms and the circle of the *ḥaside ashkenaz*.⁴² He also adapted philosophical concepts on the significance of the Hebrew alphabet and tried to make them applicable to his own ethics of God’s hidden presence. None of his thoughts are expressed in the same way, however, as we know it from other writings. And we do not know of similar works that have been published or edited yet.

⁴⁰ See Dan 1997, 236.

⁴¹ For a description, see Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library, Richler/Beit-Arié/Pasternak 2008, 34.

⁴² Although there are similar thoughts and philosophical speculations in other texts from the time of the *ḥaside ashkenaz*, none of them are absolutely identical. The fragment text, for example, cannot be identified with any of the commentaries on the seventy names of Metatron, a more philosophical speculation on the power of angels. On this matter, see Idel 2005, 183–196; Idel 2007, 255–264.

In conclusion, the newly discovered fragment from Gotha is remarkable evidence of the reception of ancient mystical thought in mediaeval Germany. Although its author has not yet been identified, it looks likely that the fragment is related to the *ḥaside ashkenaz* movement or its followers. Many other comparable texts might exist, some of them even in complete manuscripts containing a colophon. These still await further research, however, and may shed some more light on Metatron one day.

Let me conclude with another reference to Campanini's preliminary observations on the fragments from Italy. Like him, it is my hope that further research on Hebrew binding fragments in Germany will make a contribution to the study of the diffusion of Jewish mystical thought and the Kabbala. Even if it is too early to draw any far-reaching conclusions, a comparison between regions and the different countries of Europe sheds light on the history of the reception and development of mystical thought in Ashkenaz and beyond.

5 Edition of fragment *Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt-Gotha, Memb. I 201, fol. 15*

Critical symbols:

?	doubtful or illegible letter
< >	lacuna, addition or correction
[]	addition from a biblical quotation
/~	graphic filler

Recto:

- 1 עמ"י עש"ו עמ"י עש"ו אתחיל דא אתחיל דא בטור []
- 2 ב"א א' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו האל המסתתר⁴³ מכל דעת המהלך על כנפי רוח (תה' קד ג) ומגלה עמוקות מני
- 3 חושך (איוב יב כב) והמאמין בקדושיו והנדרש לשואליו והכורת ברית לבחיריו אשר כרת את אברהם (תה' קה ט; דברי הימים א טז טז)

⁴³ See Isaiah 45:15; also see line 9 below.

- 4 להנחיל תורת אמת לבניו לתת להם נתיב חכמתו⁴⁴ ולהיותם קרובים אליו וחושבי שמו כי
 5 ידע דרך עמו ככת' כי ידעת[ו] למען גו' (בר' יח יט) ושמרו דרך יי (בר' יח יט) ממנו ידעו
 ויכירו לעשות צדקה ומשפט (בר' יח יט) על /הת"ד
 6 התמימות אשר הם שני דרכים מתחלפים מצד שהצדק יתר במעלה יתר מן המשפט והדרך
 הזה
 7 משתטף לשני עינינים והדרך האחד לבקש את דבר השם כעניין שכתוב הורני יי' דרך
 חוקיך (תה' קיט לג)
 8 והשיני נ' הוא דרכו של עצמו כיצד הוא כעניין שכתוב יי' כסופה וסערה (ישעיה כט ו) דרכו
 פי' דרכו למהר את
 9 סופת כל ברייה ובשערה להסתתר ככת' אכן אתה אל (ישעיה מה טו) יעיר לתלות שערה
 בשערה זיו הדרו בשר
 10 פניו וממנו אחת לאחת ושב אמיתת המצאו אשר נוכל בטבע השכל להשיג ממנו ונודע
 מדרכי ~/
 11 עצמו בכל הכתוב והודיעני נא את דרכיך (שמות לג יג) ודרכי יי' שבעה אלה.
 עיני יי' המה משוטטים בכל הארץ (זכריה ד י)
 12 ומקור אחד להם. שאין שבר התהפ(ו)כות אליהם בהיותם בכח עד התגלגלם אל המקרים.
 והם
 13 דרך אחד להם וכל אחת פועלת בפעולת חבירתה וכולו ישנו כבורא ית' דבר אחר. ואולם
 אנחנו
 14 אשר אנו מין בין המינים ובעלי המסרים לא נוכל להשיגו כי אם על דרכי המקרים
 המפורדים.
 15 כאשר יארע בכח הדיבור. והדיבור הוא כאילו התכוונת בלבך אחת התכוונות וכהיותה בכח
 ת?
 16 המחשבה תהיה דבר אחר מופרט ופשוט. ואם כאתה להזכירו בדבור שהוא לו מקרה
 תצטרך
 17 להזכירו בכמה תיבות או בכמה אותיו' שאינם דוקות זו לזו. וגם כן הבורא התברך הוא
 דרכיו ~
 18 להנהגתו ונהיה לעצמו אחד. אלא שאנחנו בעלי מקרים ולא נוכל להשיגו. ואלינו השינוי
 ולא
 19 לו. ועוד אמשול לך משל למה הדבר דומה והוא שכבר ידעת מהאש כי הוא כח אחד
 20 לעצמו זהו אין עליו דרך שם. עד הגיע לנוח על המקרים המתהפכים. ועל פי טבעים
 21 ההם נראה מושש ומיכש מלכיו ומשחיר ומאיר ויצא עליו שנשתנה לכמה עניינים והוא כח

⁴⁴ See section 1 of the *Sefer Yetzirah*, Hayman (ed.) 2004, 49.

22 אחר ולא נשתנה. מאש שהוא עליו וגם כן הבורא הוא הכל ויודע עצמו. ויש פועל לכתו
זולת

23 ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? עליהם. ועוד או? ???

24 [דבר כי הוא ככל לראתו הכל. ואם נפרט דרכיו חז' על]

25 ??? מ?שה הכסא יצא ??? ???

Verso

1 בין האור ובין הנר כמלוה כלוה ואיתם דרך כלל זה עצמו וזה דרכו כי זה לא נקרא נר כי אם
לעלות /ה~

2 האור. וביניהם כבין האור העומד זולתו לכח העצום הזה אומ' נביאנו ע"ה האל הגדול
הגיבור והנורא (דב' י יז)

3 והנה לך מילת האל בפירוש היכל להמצאות בו. ואל"ף של אהיה (שמ' ג יד) ויוד של
השם מצד שהוא בכל

4 ואוריאל אשר לפני השכינה ככת' לפני לא יראו (שמ' לג כג) רוצה לומר שלוחו וכחו
וזר?חת אורו על מטטרון אשר הוא

5 שר פניו והתבונן פירוש או פניהם. דע כי מילת אל משמש '? לשו' אחד מהם לשו' כח
נ(י)סתר

6 עצום עומד בעצמו כאשר פירשנו. והוא מילש' יש לאל ידי (בר' לא כט) והוא חיותו ויען
כל דבר הוא. יש בו

7 דין כלם. נאמ' בו חכם והשיני הוא {לדין} כגון אלהים נצב בעדת אל (תה' פב א)
והוא שנקרא חפץ. לבלתי אמור ~

8 בו ובה עשותו חפץ בו נקרא יוכל כי דרכו ושבילו בכל היסוד כנר המס?יק לכל משיגיו ואין
לך שיש בו

9 שכל שלא תוכל לומר כי יי בקרבו כי ירא על כנפי רוח ומהשגת גלגל הש[כל] לשמש
בעולם התחתון נאמר

10 ?? מלאך בין במות בין בקיים. והכן ממה שנאמ' רבותינו ששה מלאכי המות וכו' והל'
השלישי לשו' גאולה

11 [מ]עלה על הכל. כגון אל גוי' וכן הא' הגדול אשר אמרתי לך א' של אהיה (שמ' ג יד)
רצ[ו]ני לומ' שכל שם שתחילתו א' פועל

12 בכח ראשון אלא אם הסתירו הנביאים החליפו באותיות והדין הזה כשמתחיל
כל שם בשאר אותיות.

- 13 ואשר אמרתי לך אל"ף של אמש 45 רצוני לומר כי כשתמצא בספר יצ"ה המליך אות פלוני וקשר לו 46 אינו
- 14 אומ' שכח האות ברא אלא בכח ראשון או בשיני אשר כנגד האות ההוא הנזכר כאשר בסדר
- 15 הרוחות על דרך האותיות אם גוזר האל ותתבונן שתפש לשון המוליך מכלל שעצמו בכר היה וקשר לו
- 16 כתר 47 ולא אומ' והכתיר ופירושו מי שקשר שעה ובשעה יצא לו שם מלכות על אותו פועל ולא
- 17 אומ' הכתיר שמורה על ש(ו)ם קידוש ואשר אמרתי לך יוד של השם דין חכמ' רוצה לומר אי אפשר
- 18 שלא כח על כלום ושאינן נופל על שום דבר והנה חשיכה הראשונה [מ]סב?? אחרון עלל לה וסופו
- 19 נקשרים בו כי הוא אינו חסר מסיבתם כאשר האל"ף לא חסר מסיבת החשבונות ולא הוסיף וכולם
- 20 תלויין בו ולסוף אחר {??} העשרות והדבר המיתה שחוזר השכל ומתעלה במעלות אשר ירך כי צד
- 21 הכח המדריך (ר"ל כללי השכל) חוזר ממלאך לגדול ממלאך ולא הנשמה הכ? מית פי' ???
- 22 []
- 32 []

⁴⁵ See *Sefer Yešira*, sections 23, 24, 26–36, Hayman (ed.) 2004, 110–111; Herrmann (ed.) 2008, 37.

⁴⁶ See *Sefer Yešira*, sections 32–34, 41, 52, Hayman (ed.) 2004, 121; Herrmann (ed.) 2008, 43–44. The word כתר is missing. See lines 15–16 below.

⁴⁷ *Sefer Yešira*, sections 32–34, 41, 52, Hayman (ed.) 2004, 121–123, 160; Herrmann (ed.) 2008, 42–44, 68.

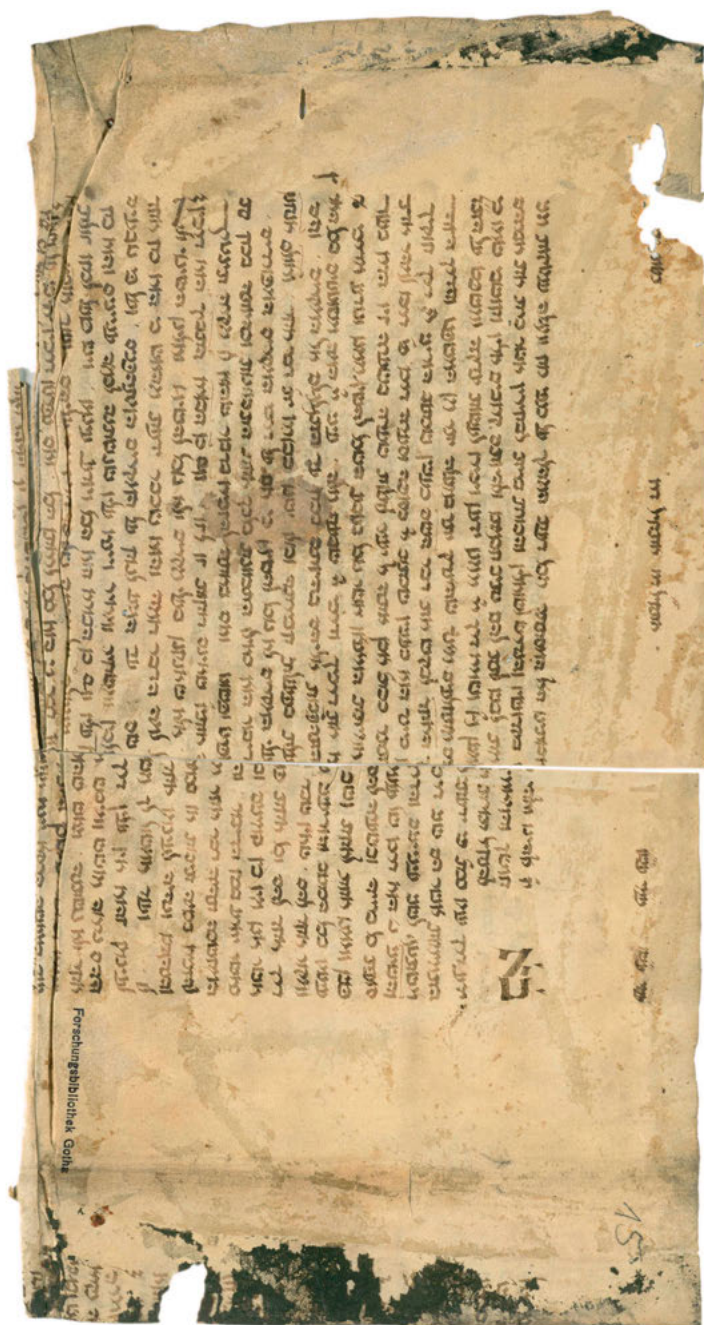


Fig. 1: Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt-Gotha, Memb. I 201, fol. 15, recto. © Bibliothek Erfurt-Gotha.

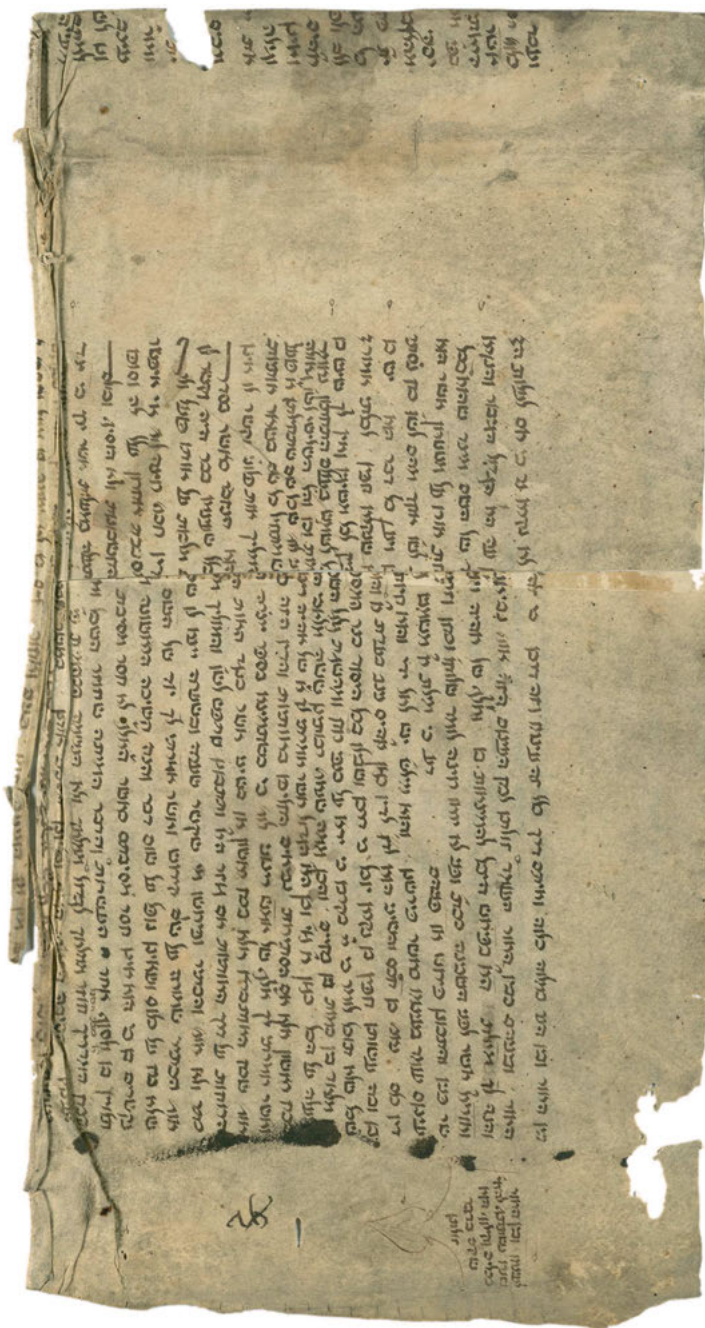


Fig. 2: Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt-Gotha, Memb. I 201, fol. 15, verso. © Bibliothek Erfurt-Gotha.

6 Translation

Recto

1. *My help comes from the Lord, maker of heaven and earth. My help comes from the Lord, maker of heaven and earth* (Psalm 121:2). I will start this; I will start this. In the column []⁴⁸
2. Blessed are You, Lord our God, and God of our Fathers, *the God who hides Himself*⁴⁹ from all reason, *moves on the wings of the wind* (Psalm 104:3) and *who draws mysteries out of*
3. *the darkness* (Job 12:22); who has faith in His holy people, answers their requests, who made a covenant with His followers *that He made with Abraham* (Psalm 105:1 ;9 Chronicles 161:6).
4. to bequeath His true Tora to his children,⁵⁰ to provide them with a path to His wisdom, to be close to Him and contemplate His name, because
5. he knows the way of his people, as it is written: *For I have known him*, etc. (Genesis 18:19) *and to keep the way of the Lord* (Genesis 18:19), from him they learn *how to do what is just and right* (Genesis 18:19). To (attain)
6. perfection there are two different ways, because righteousness prevails over justice, and this way
7. includes two concerns: the first, expounding God's word according to its meaning, as it is written: *Give me understanding of the ways of your commandments* (Psalm 119:34).
8. And the second, as mentioned, is the way of Himself, how He reveals Himself, as in *storm and tempest* (Isaiah 29:6) – His way, which means that
9. the storm moves all creatures and the tempest conceals Him, as it is written: *You are indeed a God* (Isaiah 45:16). He rouses storm by storm, splendour and glory among His *Sare*
10. *ha-Panim*. And from this, item by item,⁵¹ the truth behind these things reveals Him [to us], which we can understand by rational thinking, and we recognise His ways

⁴⁸ Something is missing from the first line of the text here.

⁴⁹ See Isaiah 45:15. Also see *Sefer Sode Razaya*, Weiss (ed.) (1991), 168.

⁵⁰ See *Midrash Mishle* 19:1, Visotzky (ed.) 1990, 136.

⁵¹ See *Kohelet* 7:27.

11. from Himself, as it is written: *Let me know your ways* (Exodus 33:14); and the ways of the Lord: *Those seven are the eyes of the Lord, ranging over the whole world* (Zechariah 4:10).
12. And they (all) have one source. But the vicissitudes did not come to an end, while still being an option until they became specific cases for themselves. And this
13. is one of their conditions: that every reason causes another reason. And like the creator – may He be praised! – they all have a different reason. But we,
14. as far as we are a species among species and transmitter, cannot comprehend Him, unless by the way of different phenomena.
15. It can (only) happen by the power of language. And language is only like an indicator in your heart. This indicator, as long as it is in force, /?
16. can direct the imagination to differentiate and to abstract the phenomena. And in case you remember a certain incident during communication, you must
17. remember certain words or certain letters, which are not connected to each other. And so the creator – may He be praised! – in His way
18. of ruling, but He is for Himself one. But we are [merely] creatures and cannot comprehend Him. And we are objects to change, but
19. He is not. And further on, I will give you a parable as to what things He can be compared with: And you already became aware of the fire, that it is one power⁵²
20. by itself, which means that there is nothing above it, until it rests from the changing circumstances. And on the basis of these elements
21. it looks burning and biting during its way, blackening and enlightening, and it flares up in many attributes, but He is
22. a different power that does not change. Different than fire, upon which He is set, and He, too, is creator of all and knows of it all Himself. And there is one creator of its power alone
23. ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? above. And also or?? ???
24. [] matter because He sees it all. And if His ways differentiate []
25. ??? the throne goes ??? ??? ???

52 An original power or potency.

Verso

26. [...] between the light and the candle (exists a relation) similar to that between a lender and a borrower. And in principle they exist by themselves. But this is also His way. Because of this, it is called 'candle', because it creates
27. light. And their relationship is like one between the light, which stands for itself alone. About this power of substance, our prophet – peace be upon him – says: *the great, the mighty and the awesome God* (Deuteronomy 10:17).
28. And look, you have the word 'God' (*ha-'El*), which directs you to the palace where He can be found. And the *alef* in *eheye* (Exodus 3:14) and the *yod* in the name (of God)⁵³ are on either side.
29. As with Uri'el, who (stands) before the *Shekhina*, as it is written: *but my face must not be seen* (Exodus 33:23), which means His essence and His power and His light shines on *Metatron*, who serves as
30. is *Sar Panim*; this means he looks at Him or at His (face). Know that the word *El* stands for the expression 'one of them'; the expression 'hidden power'
31. refers to a substance which exists by itself, as we have already explained. And it can be derived from the expression: *God has it in his power* (Genesis 31:29), and He in His existence, as a result, everything else comes into being. In Him
32. exists the determination of everything. It says about one wise [thing], and the second [adjective] determines it, as (indicated) for example in (the verse): *God stands in the divine assembly* (Psalm 82:1), and this is what is called 'will' (*hefeš*), without having determined
33. by him. And by doing this they do His will, because His way and His path are like the principle, like a candle which lights up anyone who reaches out for it. And there is nobody with
34. intellect who would not confirm that the Lord is *in its midst*,⁵⁴ for one who fears the wings of spirit and the sphere of intellect,⁵⁵ to utilise them in the netherworld, as it is said
35. ?? angel, be it for death or be it for existence/life. But where from? From what our masters/Rabbis said: 'Six angels of death', etc.⁵⁶ And the third meaning is an expression of redemption,

53 The Tetragrammaton.

54 See, e.g. Exodus 34:10.

55 See Klatzkin 1968, vol. 1, 115.

56 See *Alfabet de-Rabbi 'Aqiva, Nusah bet*, in *Bet ha-Midrash*, Jellinek (ed.) 1967, vol. 3, 50.

36. (which) stands above everything else.⁵⁷ Such as *I will raise (my hands) to the nations* (Isaiah 49:22). And likewise in: *the great, (the mighty and the awesome) God* (Deuteronomy 10:17), which I explained to you; *alef* in *ehey* (Exodus 3:14). I want to say that every word which begins with *alef* is inspired
37. by the first power, even though the prophets concealed them and permuted letters. And this is the rule when a word starts with one of the other letters.
38. As I have told you, *alef* from the (mother) letters *alef*, *mem* and *shin* (*emesh*).⁵⁸ I want to say that you will find it in the *Sefer Yeşira*, that He made a certain letter rule over another and bound (a crown) to it. It is not
39. said that the power of the letter created, but that (it was created) by the initial or the second power, which was combined with a particular letter, according to the order
40. of the winds following the arrangement of the mother letters that God has determined. And consider that He adopted the phrase ‘and He bound’ on the assumption that His substance was given priority, and He bound to it
41. a crown. And He does not say ‘and He crowned (the letter)’. And this means that the one who combines hair (assumption) with hair (assumption) will get a definition that determines its function. And it is not
42. said ‘He crowned (the letter)’, not to direct to sanctification. As I have told you, the *yod* in the name (of God) is the rule of wisdom. This means it is impossible
43. that (the letter) has no power about anything, that the [letter] does not mean anything. And look, the first darkness encompasses the last; rising and its conclusion
44. are bound together in it. Because it does not diminish its effect when the *alef* does not delete or add something from the rationale of the accounts. And all
45. (other letters) are subject to Him. And to another outcome {?} the ten and the event of death, which the mind remembers and concludes that the flank is the side of
46. the power who is instructing (which means the principles of reason). It returns from one angel to the assistance of another angel. And the soul ... which means ??? ??? ???
47. []
48. []

⁵⁷ See *Alfabeta de-Rabbi 'Aqiva*, op cit.

⁵⁸ See Lehnardt/Ottermann 2014.

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Diana Matut

On the History of Editing Pre-Modern Yiddish Manuscript Texts

Abstract: The history of editing pre-modern Yiddish texts goes back to the Early Modern Period. Both Jewish and non-Jewish scholars and printers transferred manuscripts into print – a process difficult to research for lack of original manuscripts that served as *Vorlage*. Knowledge of cursive script – the basis of all Yiddish manuscript studies – will be discussed in this article, as will the basic historical principles of editing and their long-lasting effects on scholarship and the conceptualisation and understanding of pre-modern Yiddish.

1 The beginning of editions during the Early Modern Period and the knowledge of cursive script

Strictly speaking, the endeavour of editing Yiddish manuscript texts started already with the first prints of Yiddish texts. It was not only the first step in a transition process away from manuscript culture towards the printed medium but also the first step towards modern editions. The various strategies, norms, decisions and rules employed in this process could provide invaluable information on the history of texts, literary standards and graphemics, the development of concepts and notions, geographical shifts and the history of printing as such.¹ However, Yiddish textual scholarship faces the dilemma of having

virtually none of the manuscripts on which printed editions were based, while some collections contain manuscripts of texts which remained unprinted. We possess relatively few external documents offering additional information about books, texts, their authors and the circumstances of their writing and printing. Yiddish book printing was a subsidiary of

Regarding the choice of terminology: pre-modern, Old, Early or Western Yiddish are used synonymously here. The terminus ‘transcription’ is employed to denote the pronunciation-based conversion from one writing system into another. ‘Transliteration’ means a strict letter by letter conversion from one script into another.

¹ See, for instance, Neuberg 1994 or his forthcoming article 2017.

the Hebrew publishing industry [...]. Virtually no long-term plans were made for the production of Yiddish texts and books.²

But not only Jewish printers and scholars took an interest in Yiddish manuscripts, as Jean Baumgarten noted:

The Yiddish language had already experienced its first linguistic study during the Renaissance, when some European scholars began to consider the possibility of using vernacular languages as vehicles of study and scholarship. [...] At about the same time that these first treatises on European vernaculars were appearing, the first bibliographies, systematic grammatical studies, lexica and brief collections of texts in Old Yiddish were published.³

With the rise of Christian Hebraism from the late 15th century onwards, an interest in the contemporary Jewish vernacular and its literature had been awoken, driven by a vast spectrum of motivations – ranging from philological and literary curiosity to outright anti-Judaism or missionary intentions.⁴

Aya Elyada, however, justifiably differentiates between the interest in Hebrew or Yiddish:

Although closely linked to Christian Hebraism, 'Christian Yiddishism' constituted a cultural phenomenon in its own right. Unlike Hebrew, Yiddish was considered neither holy nor ancient by Jews and non-Jews alike. [...] However, neither the low status of Yiddish inside the Jewish communities nor its negative image in non-Jewish eyes deterred Christian scholars, most of them theologians, Hebraists, and Orientalists, from involving themselves with the language and its literature. [...] Accordingly, proficiency in Yiddish was promoted among Christians [...] for three main reasons: to missionize among the Jews, to read Jewish literature in this language, and to use Yiddish as an aid in the study of Hebrew and the biblical text.⁵

Thus, in the wake of Christian Hebraism, the 'scientific' study of Yiddish outside the Jewish community and the editing of Yiddish writings began. Some Christian scholars owned vast libraries containing Yiddish manuscripts, but this is hardly reflected in their editorial undertakings. Mainly, excerpts were provided from books, not handwritten sources.

² Berger 2013, 1.

³ Baumgarten 2005, 25.

⁴ See Baumgarten 2005; Coudert/Shoulson 2004; Elyada 2009 and 2012; Frakes 2007; Habersaat 1962 and 1965; Katz 1986; Matut 2010; Weinreich 1923. See also Steimann's contribution to this volume.

⁵ Elyada 2012, 20–21.

Although the study of Yiddish was also an internal Jewish phenomenon during the Early Modern Period,⁶ the publishing of teaching manuals was generally conducted by Christians or converts.

It is safe to assume that many or most Christian Hebraists and Yiddishists knew the cursive script and were capable of reading it, not least because of their at times impressive manuscript collections and correspondences,⁷ but also because of their use of sources available only in handwritten form. Wilhelm Christian Just Chrysander even lists this *expressis verbis* among the reasons why ‘learning the Jewish-German vernacular and style of writing has its uses’:

III. Daß man die Hebräischen Manuscripta, welche mit Jüdisch=Teutschen Buchstaben geschrieben, und in verschiedenen Bibliotheken anzutreffen sind, lesen könne.⁸

III. That one will be able to read those Hebrew manuscripts which are written in Jewish-German letters, and are to be found in various libraries.

And Chrysander continues:

V. Daß man die gewöhnlichen Handschriften der Juden ausdeuten könne; als geschäftliche Briefe, Quitungs[!]=und Wechsel=Verbriefungen, Mieht=Kauf=Verkaufungs=Briefe, Contracte, Jüdische Bescheide, Zeugnisse, Urias=Briefe, Diebes=Listen, Verschreibungen, und andere Intrumenta. Wie auch, daß man mit ausländischen Juden einen Brief=Wechsel pflegen könne.⁹

V. That one will be able to interpret the ordinary manuscripts of the Jews; such as their business letters, receipts and bills of exchange, letters of rental, purchase and sale, contracts, Jewish legal notices, certificates, Uriah letters, thieves’ lists, alienations and other instruments. Furthermore, that one may exchange letters with foreign Jews.

However, in their Yiddish teaching manuals the focus lay almost entirely on the printed form of the letters – a situation that Johann Christoph Wagenseil addressed directly:

Wobey nit zu verhelen / daß wann man gleich das gedruckte Jüdisch-Teutsche lesen kan / doch das so mit der Hand geschrieben wird / noch eine Schwierigkeit mache / gleich wie unsere Kinder / wann sie in gedruckten Büchern lesen können / doch darum solches nit alsobald in denen geschriebenen Briefen zu leisten vermögen. [...] Die=weilen aber das Geschriebene zu lesen durch das Gedruckte nit gezeigt werden kan / ist demnach vonnöthen

⁶ Katz 1986, 28–29.

⁷ See, for instance, the libraries of Johann Christoph Wagenseil (now housed in the University Libraries Erlangen-Nuremberg and Leipzig) or Oluf Tychsen (now at University Library, Rostock).

⁸ Chrysander 1750, 21.

⁹ Chrysander 1750, 24–25.

/ daß hie vefahren werde / wie man es bey und in Schulen machet / da man die Kinder absonderlich zu Lesung des geschriebenen anweist. Man muß nemlich sehen / wie man von den Juden / in ihrem Teutsch geschriebene Sachen zur Hand bringe [...].¹⁰

It cannot be denied that when one is able to read the printed Jewish-German, that which is written by hand still causes difficulties, just as it is in the case of our children, who, even if they can read in printed books, cannot do the same with written letters [...] But since it is impossible to teach the written through the printed, it is necessary to act as one would do in schools, where children are taught how to read what is handwritten in special instruction. One has to look out for the possibility of getting things from the Jews written in their German [...].

Johann Boeschenstein, however, presents an exception. In his *Elementale introductoriū in hebreas litteras teutonice & hebraice legendas*, he introduced the cursive script (Fig. 1).

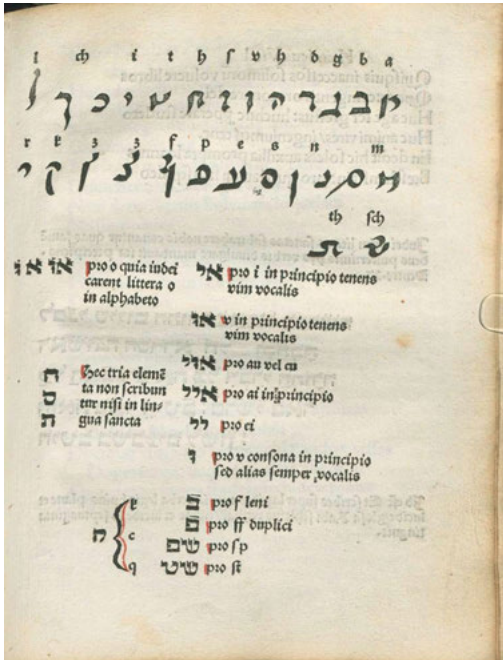


Fig. 1: Johann Böschenstein (1514), *Elementale introductoriū in hebreas litteras teutonice & hebraice legendas*, Augsburg: Erhard Oeglin, fol. 3r. © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Digital; http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11223721_00005.html (last accessed 12/09/2017).

¹⁰ Wagenseil 1699, 8.

In 1680, August Pfeiffer also deemed it essential to introduce the learner to what he termed 'Character corruptior in Manuscriptis' [Corrupt characters in manuscripts]. His rationale was that one might wish to correspond with Jews and should thus be able to read and write the cursive script (Fig. 2).

During the 18th century, the cursive form was included in handbooks that Dovid Katz labelled 'teach yourself Yiddish' manuals, mainly, but not exclusively addressed to a 'business-oriented' audience.¹¹ This included Gerson Abrahams *Anweisung zur Jüdischen Schreibart* (1782) (Fig. 3),¹² Carl Wilhelm Friedrich's *Unterricht in der Judensprache und Schrift* (1784),¹³ which offers the alphabet, phrases, sample letters and invoices in cursive script, and the

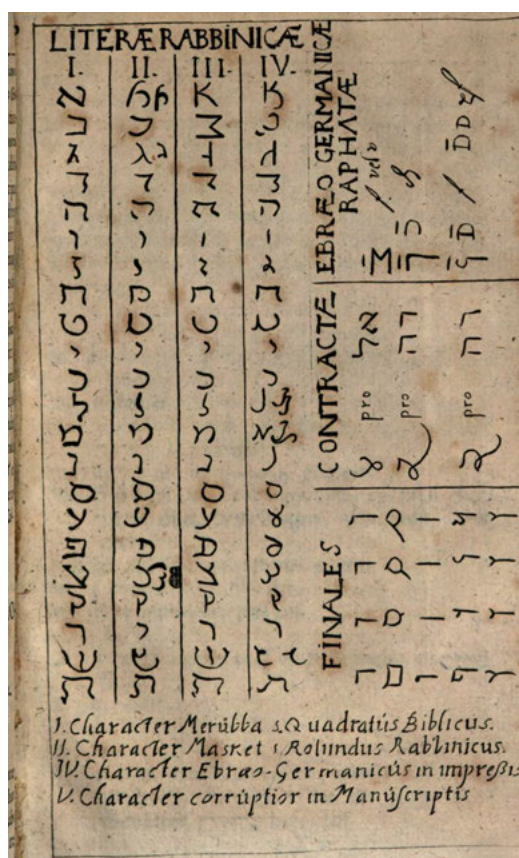


Fig. 2: August Pfeiffer (1721), 'De lectione ebræo-germanica', in *Critica Sacra de Sacri Codicis Partitione* [...], Dresden and Leipzig: Gothfred Lesch, unnumbered single page between pp. 322 and 323. (The alphabet charts are numbered with Roman letters I–IV. However, in the accompanying legend, they were numbered I, II, IV and V, which seems to be a mistake since III is missing and V does not exist.) © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Digital; <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.urn=nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10412319-7> (last accessed 12/09/2017).

¹¹ Katz 1986, 25.

¹² Braunschweig: Fürstl. Waysenhaus=Buchdruckerey, 1782.

¹³ Prentzlow: Chr. G. Ragocz, 1784; addendum I–XV.

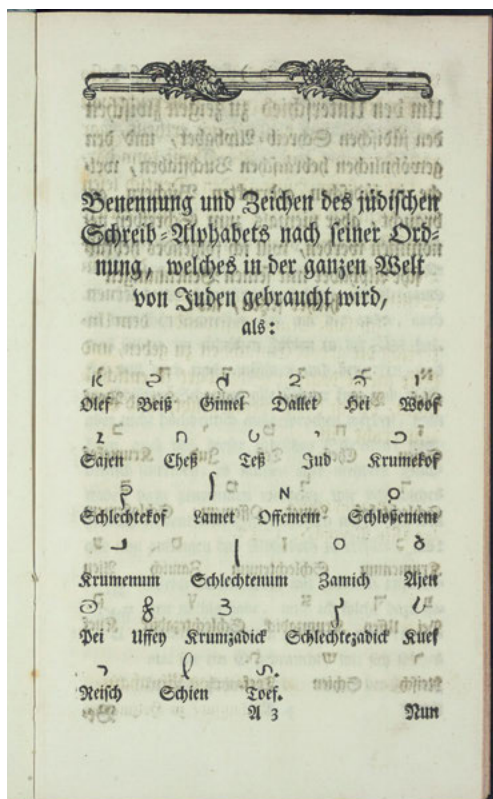


Fig. 3: Gerson Abraham (1782), *Anweisung zur Jüdischen Schreibart*, Braunschweig: Fürstl. Waysenhaus=Buchdruckerey, fol. 3r. © Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek; <http://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/?image/1317165497/1/-/>.

Kurze und gründliche Anleitung zu einer leichten Erlernung der Jüdischdeutschen Sprache by convert Gottfried Selig (1787), including a ‘Tabula zur Erlernung des geschriebenen Jüdischteutschen’ [Table to learn the written Jewish-German].¹⁴ But also in these cases, no significant editions of manuscript texts can be noted.

When Gerson Abraham, a *Schutzjude* (protected Jew) from Holzminden published his *Anweisung* in 1782, he expressly stated that it was impossible to find the ‘Jewish (cursive) letters’ anywhere and that he had to have them specially made,¹⁵ although cursive letters were already widely in use at the time.

Of the Yiddish manuscripts consulted by Christian Hebraists for editions, those providing help with difficult terms and phrases – such as glosses and dictionaries – proved to be most significant. They were in turn used for the com-

¹⁴ Leipzig: Christian Friedrich Rumpf, 1787; single sheet, included after the ‘Vorbericht’.

¹⁵ Abraham 1782, ‘Vorbericht’.

pilation of new dictionaries or for translations and interpretations,¹⁶ as Johann Christoph Wagenseil stated himself:

[T]he expertness in the German-Hebrew dialect would prove very beneficial, and would give them a good instruction, [how] to correctly interpret many obscure expressions and difficult words that are found in the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament.¹⁷

Thus, Yiddish in this context served the purpose of being a bridge to Hebrew and advancing understanding of the Hebrew Bible, as Aya Elyada put it:

If Yiddish translations of Hebrew words were considered valuable for providing Christians with a relatively easy and convenient access to the Jewish understanding of the biblical text, they were also considered valuable because of the linguistic affinity between Yiddish and Hebrew.

However, glosses are not where edition ended. Paul Helicz, born Shemu'el, was a convert, working as a printer in Cracow. In 1543, he published his *Elemental / oder lesebüchlen* (Hundesfeld)¹⁸ and included a sample borrower's note ('Schuldbrief') – presented in a very advanced interlinear edition: above the Yiddish lines and words, Helicz printed their German translations (which in itself is a fascinating linguistic document) (Fig. 4).¹⁹

This sample letter might have had a concrete manuscript *Vorlage*, but could also have been a free creation based on contemporary common formulas. Nevertheless, it presents an ambitious editorial method.

Among the Christian Yiddishists, it was Johann Christoph Wagenseil in particular who made use of handwritten sources, as Jerold Frakes has already observed:

Wagenseil's brief treatment 'Bericht wie das Jüdisch-Teutsche zu lesen' [Report on How to Read Jewish-German] [...] provides an extensive Hebrew alphabet anthology of early Yiddish

¹⁶ Elyada 2012, 69–70.

¹⁷ Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1699) in the introduction to his *Belehrung der Jüdisch-Teutschen Red- und Schreib-Art*; quoted from Elyada 2012, 70 (translation by Aya Elyada).

¹⁸ The Helicz brothers published extensively in Yiddish and Hebrew, for Jews and Christians. Paul (Shmuel) is the only one of the three brothers who later returned to Judaism and left Poland, see Fram/Teter 2010.

¹⁹ This method was applied in various other teaching manuals as well, e.g. Johannes Meelführer (1607), *Grammaticæ Hebrææ compendiosa institutio*, Ansbach: Paul Bohemus, 266–267; or Johann Buxtorf (1609), *Thesaurus grammaticus linguæ sanctæ hebrææ*, Basel: Conrad Waldkirch, 455–457.

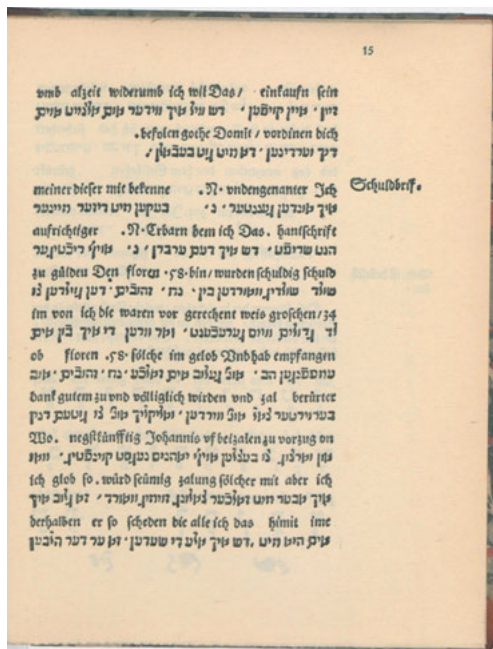


Fig. 4: Paul Helicz (1543), *Elemental / oder lesebüchlein*, Hundesfeld, fols 7v–8r; Facsimile reproduction in Max Silberberg (ed.) (1929), *Elemental-oder Lesebüchlein des Paul Helicz*, Breslau: Verein Jüdisches Museum, pp. 15–16, here p. 15. © University Library, Frankfurt; <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/judaicaaffm/content/titleinfo/3596628> (last accessed 12/09/2017).

literature, from both the manuscript tradition and the early printing industry, comprising a collection of various types of texts [...].²⁰

Wagenseil applied various editorial techniques. In his ‘Prob=Übungen in dem Deutsch-Hebreischen Dialecto’ [Sample exercises in the German-Hebrew dialect] as the last chapter within his teaching manual, he offers texts in Yiddish characters only (and based on a print, not a manuscript) (Fig. 5). However, in the previous chapters, and for the most part, he presents them in Yiddish together with a rendition in Latin letters. His strategies in doing so are multi-layered and multi-faceted. While, on the one hand, he Germanizes the texts (e.g. capitalizing, adding double consonants, the lengthening *h*, umlaut, etc.), he leaves various other characteristics intact, e.g. no final *t* for the word ‘is’, morphological specifics such as ‘Feyrung’, ‘Lehrung’ or ‘Gwinnung’. He transcribed Hebrew words into Latin letters and added footnotes with translations, especially for the *Megillas Vints*²¹ (e.g. ‘Schomer Iisroël’, ‘Haschem Iisborech’, ‘Megillas’, ‘Schir’, ‘Niggun’, etc.), which can be considered an advanced system in the context of its time.

²⁰ Frakes 2007, 60.

²¹ Wagenseil used a print as *Vorlage* for his edition, not a manuscript.

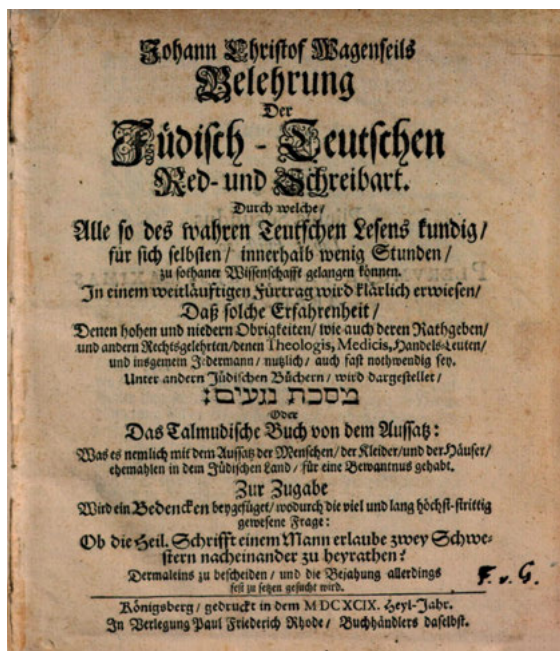


Fig. 5: Johann Christof [Christoph] Wagenseil (1699), *Belehrung der Jüdisch-Teutschen Red- und Schreib-Art*, Königsberg: Rhode, title page; © Bavarian State Library, Munich; <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10903876-8> (last accessed 12/09/2017).

In general, as was said before, actual editions of manuscript texts were rare during the Early Modern Period, i.e. if their *Drucklegung* (printing) is not taken into account.

2 Sample editorial methods – 19th to mid-20th centuries

In the following paragraphs, several historical methods will be presented. Until the second half of the 20th century, no comprehensive study on the graphemics and phonemics of Old Yiddish existed. Thus, scholars of pre-modern Yiddish texts either took Middle High German as their point of reference or modern Yiddish – with varying results. In the following description I therefore refrain from pointing out the general shortcomings transcriptions consequently had (see also the discussion in 3), since this would not be helpful for the evaluation of historical editions in the context of their time.²²

²² For an overview of relevant studies and as the most comprehensive research to this day, see Timm 1987, esp. 1–7.

2.1 Transcription as conformation to German orthography and Hebrew component kept in Hebrew letters: Max Grünbaum (1882)

This is one of the oldest editorial formats of presenting Yiddish manuscripts, dating back to the Christian Hebraists – as do various basic forms of editing. After 1800, it was used extensively by bibliographers such as Moritz Steinschneider²³, and one of the first to apply this method to editions of manuscripts was Max [Maier] Grünbaum in his *Jüdischdeutsche Chrestomathie* (1882). He can be considered one of the first, if not the first, to engage with the editing of pre-modern Yiddish literature in its own right, as he himself expressly states:

In neuerer Zeit sind in Deutschland mehrere Schriften erschienen, in welchen die Juden von der geschichtlichen [...] und diversen anderen Seiten betrachtet wurden. Darunter war denn auch die sprachliche Seite, das sogenannte Judendeutsch, das ebenfalls mit in den Kreis der Betrachtungen gezogen ward – allerdings aber in höchst oberflächlicher Weise. Schon deshalb dürfte eine etwas eingehendere Darlegung der jüdischdeutschen Sprache und Literatur nicht überflüssig erscheinen.²⁴

Recently, several publications appeared in Germany in which Jews were studied from the historical [...] and several other perspectives. Among those was also the linguistic side, the so-called Jews' German, which was also taken into consideration – but in an extremely superficial manner. Hence, a somewhat more thorough presentation of the Jewish-German language and literature would not seem superfluous.

Grünbaum belonged to a new generation of Jewish scholars educated at German-speaking universities²⁵, who discovered the wealth and worth of pre-modern Yiddish literature. However, Grünbaum and many of his contemporaries considered the latter significant only with regard to cultures that were considered 'superior', which in general meant Hebrew and/or German. He deemed Old Yiddish literature to be 'originell und doch kein Original' [original but not *an* original]²⁶ and judged it to consist mainly of translations from Hebrew and foreign works.

23 For Steinschneider's works on Yiddish (including Yiddish manuscripts), see Matut 2012.

24 Grünbaum 1882, vii.

25 Grünbaum studied philology and philosophy at Giessen and Bonn universities, see Singer/Dunbar 1906.

26 Grünbaum 1882, vii.

etc.; adding lengthening *h*; doubling consonants; writing umlauts; unifying the voiced and unvoiced *s*-sounds into one letter *s*, and unfortunately omitting entire words and prefixes, etc.

As a general strategy, Grünbaum printed words from the Hebrew-Aramaic component of Yiddish in their original letters (with translation in brackets). This way, he avoided the question of how it might have been pronounced historically, established an artificial divide between the language components and further strengthened the argument of Western Yiddish being a ‘pure, historical’ form of German with a ‘Hebrew component’. This was, of course, entirely in keeping with the language ideologies of 19th-century German-speaking Jewry and the scholars of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Those who studied or knew about the older Yiddish language and literature mourned the development it supposedly took after the 16th century. Until then, so the *opinio communis*, it was still ‘pure German’.²⁸ Although Grünbaum noticed the ‘eigenthümliche Orthographie’ [peculiar orthography],²⁹ he considered the non-Hebrew and non-Romance component simply to be ‘alterthümliche deutsche Wörter’ [archaic German words]³⁰ thus failing to appreciate the progression of Early Yiddish with a unique vocabulary, grammar etc. and the importance of graphemics and phonemics to prove this point.³¹

2.2 Transcription as conformation to German orthography and transcribed Hebrew component – Felix Rosenberg (1888)

Among non-Jewish scholars, those researching Old and Middle High German literature in particular took an interest in Early Yiddish, as for instance Prof. Theodor Zarncke (1825–1892), who taught a seminar at Leipzig University entitled ‘Deutsche Literaturgeschichte bis zum Zeitalter der Reformation’ [History of German Literature up to the Reformation] during the summer semester in 1884. In the course of this seminar, he expressly stressed the ‘Wichtigkeit des Jüd.-deut. in sprachgeschichtlicher, kultur- und literaturhistorischer Hinsicht’ [The importance of Jewish-German with regard to the history of language, culture and literature].³² He thus encouraged one of his Jewish students by the name of Felix

²⁸ Matut 2012, 391ff.; see also Friedländer 1788; Zunz 1832, 452–453, 458 and 466–468.

²⁹ Grünbaum 1882, 14.

³⁰ Grünbaum 1882, 25.

³¹ See Timm 1987.

³² Rosenberg 1888a, 233.

Rosenberg to begin a dissertation whose aim was the edition of songs and plays contained in a Yiddish manuscript from the early 17th century (Figs 7a and b).³³ Rosenberg, however, was not interested in studying and editing the manuscript texts in their own right. His *ultima ratio* was to prove their value for German culture, especially as a ‘secondary source’ for German folksongs.³⁴

His dissertation appeared in print as a university thesis and shortly afterwards in Ludwig Geiger’s *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*.³⁵ Consequently, he titled his dissertation *Über eine Sammlung deutscher Volks- und Gesellschaftslieder in hebräischen Lettern* [On a collection of German folksongs and Gesellschaftslieder in Hebrew letters], thus negating all the genuinely Yiddish songs, plays, riddles, etc. the manuscript contains. Rosenberg’s edition was prone to all the aesthetics and moral predispositions of his time, which led to the exclusion of many verses and entire songs.³⁶

He explained his editorial principles, including the following statement:

Für ach, is, anander, arain habe ich in den deutschen Liedern auch, ist, einander, herein etc. gesetzt, weil ich meine, daß man überall da, wo nachweislich eine deutsche Vorlage einfach in hebräische Lettern übertragen ist, nur den litterarhistorischen Gewinn ins Auge zu fassen habe und berechtigt sei, die wenigen Spuren des jüd.-deut. Dialekts zu beseitigen.³⁷

Instead of *ach, is, anander, arain*, I used *auch, ist, einander, herein*, etc. for the German songs, because I think that wherever a German Vorlage was verifiably simply transferred into Hebrew letters, only the literary historical benefit has to be considered and justifies elimination of the few traces of the Jewish-German dialect.

Rosenberg chose to present his text in Latin script only, which also included the Hebrew component.

Rosenberg’s work was widely noted and generally acknowledged. However, in 1892 a very thorough review appeared with a critical appraisal that is meticulously accurate and still, in many respects, a valid analysis:

Von einer weitverbreiteten litteratur geben die beiden vorliegenden hefte willkommene kunde; sie bereichern unsere kenntnis und beweisen, wie sehr jene aufzeichnungen des jüdisch-deutschen dialects in hebräischen lettern die beachtung aller germanisten verdie-

³³ Rosenberg 1888b, 233; for an edition of all the texts and a commentary on the manuscript as well as a critical appraisal of Rosenberg’s work, see Matut 2011. Rosenberg was supported in his endeavours by Moritz Steinschneider and Adolf Neubauer.

³⁴ Rosenberg 1888b, 239.

³⁵ Rosenberg 1888a, 1888b and 1889.

³⁶ Rosenberg 1888b, 258.

³⁷ Rosenberg 1888b, 239.

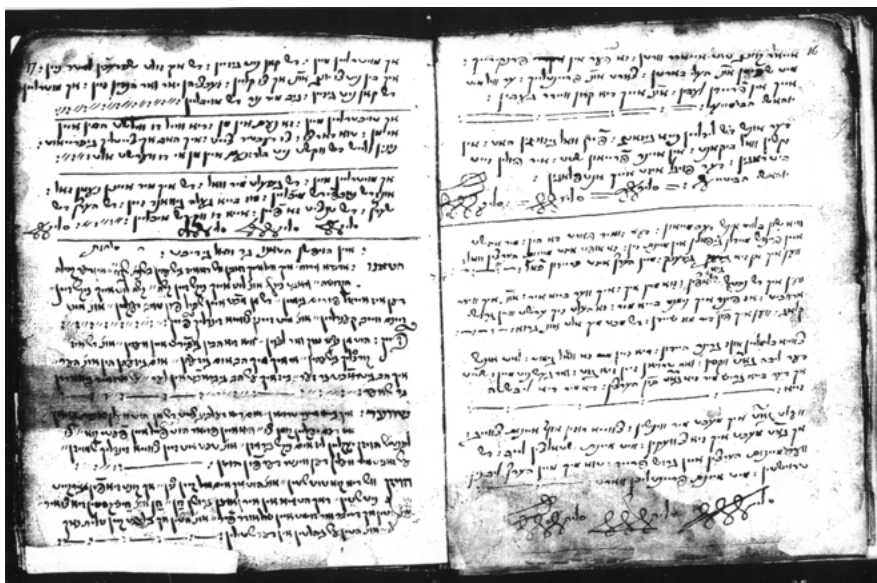


Fig. 7a: Ms. opp. add. 4° 136, Bodleian Library, Oxford, p. 16–17. © Bodleian Libraries.

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Felix Rosenberg, *Über eine Sammlung deutscher*

Auch Str. 2 nur mit andern Schluß wird jetzt noch gesungen. Die 3te Str. ist verderbt; der Sammler wollte sie, wie es scheint, anfänglich ganz weglassen; denn er hatte schon die ersten 7 Worte der Str. 4 geschrieben und strich sie dann. Aber zu dem Str. 1. 4 und 5 sind mir nicht analoge bekannt.

25. Einige Vögel, in denen persönliche Satire vorwaltet, und die jüdische Verfolger haben, letztere ist hier nur kurz, weil sie besser im Zusammenhang mit verwandten Erscheinungen behandelt werden. Auf S. 17–22 ist ein Vieh in 31 Stroph. Str. aufgeführt, das zur Veredlung freiböser Laune am Purimfeste (Ester IX, 19) dienen sollte. Alles, das zu diesem Zweck am 14. Tage des Monats Adar¹⁾ betrogen konnte, scheint erlaubt gewesen zu sein, selbst die Verbindung des Heiligsten mit dem Gemeinen, Parodieu ernster Aufgebote u. dgl.²⁾ Dieser Gattung gehört auch das vorliegende Vieh an. Die Ueberschrift desselben Ein hübschen chatonu (wie haben gesündigt) gar wol gedichtet läßt etwas anderes erwarten, als die Geschichte von taub Jesein: wie dieser von einem Bauern eine Kuh kauft, von seiner Frau Renklein ausgeheult wird, weil er sich habe betrogen lassen; wie er dann, als die Kuh ein Kalb wirft, und er dem Dreirichter nach dem Gebrauch die Kalbsungeben muß, diese ganz kurz und dünn abschneidet; und wie der Dreirichter das bemerkt und zur Strafe Frau Renklein die Geige auf dem Markt hin- und betrogen läßt. Auch bei andern Gelegenheiten giebt Jesein Anlaß zum Streit: Renklein erscheint immer als Kantiye, und Jesein als ein süßger Weinich, der gern auf andrer Kosten ist und trinkt, der aber dann zum Begehnen genötigt und dabei überfordert wird. — Ich führe die ersten beiden Strophen an, weil sie eine Aufschauung von der Form des Ganzen (Kettenreime) geben; besonders aber, weil Str. 1 einen Anhaltspunkt für die Bestimmung der Zeit, in die wir dies V. setzen können, gewährt.

1. Chatonu: adabroch wajruch³⁾,
ich will euch sagen, was da is geschehen be⁴⁾ nach⁵⁾
ich nach
in der festlich festliche⁶⁾
fragt niss und lat euch niss sein teise.⁷⁾
teise let euch niss sein, den es ist eitel Warim gemein,
das man macht ein spil von taub Jesein
und mit seinem weis Renklein
und mit seinen zwei süßlich⁸⁾ sein.

¹⁾ der Tag des Purimfestes.

²⁾ vgl. die Artikel Orientalischer's „Warim und Parodie“ in *Israelische*

Zeitschrift ed. H. Reich VII, 1–12, IX, 45–49.

³⁾ ich werde sagen und verkünden.

⁴⁾ im Jahre 7'200 (Zahlenwert der Buchstaben). 5508 nach jüd. Zeit-

rechnung entspricht dem Jahr 1598.

⁵⁾ in der Zeit, demnach.

⁶⁾ selbst euch nicht bestimmen.

⁷⁾ Schöne, vgl. hierlich Nr. 20, 2, 4; hierlich 20, 2, 2.

Fig. 7b: Felix Rosenberg (1888a), *Über eine Sammlung deutscher Volks- und Gesellschaftslieder in hebräischen Lettern*, Braunschweig: Appelhans, 29 [edition of Ms. Opp. Add. 4° 136, Bodleian Library Oxford]. © Goethe University Frankfurt, Compact Memory, University Library; <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/titleinfo/2259275> (last accessed 12/09/2017).

nen [...]. wiederholt bezeichnet R. lesarten seiner hs. als wertlos. [...] ist dies die einzige betrachtungsweise? hat für uns nicht ebenso hohen wert die beobachtung, wie sich im laufe der zeit gerade dadurch die volkslieder umgestalten, dass sie nicht von hs. zu hs. sondern von mund zu mund wandern? [...] es hätte sich auch empfohlen, die texte vollständig abdrucken zu lassen; [...] freilich hätte dabei ein genaueres eingehn auf die sprachlichen eigentümlichkeiten des jüdisch-deutschen platz greifen müssen [...] da die hs. die vocale nicht bezeichnet [...] fehlt jenes mittel [...] um mit grosser sorgfalt die dialectischen laute festzuhalten.³⁸

The two booklets at hand give welcome information; they enrich our knowledge and prove just how much those notations of the Jewish-German dialect in Hebrew letters deserve the consideration of all Germanists. [...] Repeatedly, R. calls the variants of his ms. worthless. [...] Is this the only approach? Is not the observation of equally high worth how folk songs change over the course of time precisely by not moving from ms. to ms, but from mouth to mouth? [...] It would have been advisable to publish the texts in their entirety; [...] but then, of course, to deal more precisely with the linguistic peculiarities of the Jewish-German would have required more space [...] Since the ms. does not denote vowels [...] the means is lacking [...] by which the dialectical sounds can be represented with great accuracy.

The case of Rosenberg's partial and fragmented edition is to that extent unfortunate since it had a tremendous impact on song research and literary studies for decades, if not centuries. Maks Erik used, among many other manuscripts, this song collection to prove his theory about the spreading of a Yiddish poetic repertoire by the Jewish *shpilman* and other wandering people.³⁹ Since he himself was writing in Yiddish and had no access to the manuscript, he needed to use Rosenberg's Latin-script version and re-transliterated the verses into Hebrew letters – with according results.⁴⁰ Other scholars like Bassin, Shipper and Tsinberg were forced to do the same – likewise lacking access to the original.⁴¹ Rosenberg's edition was used as late as 2001 for an extensive monographic study on German songbooks.⁴²

38 Werner 1892.

39 See Zehavit Stern's forthcoming article (2017), 'The Shpilman Theory and the Invention of the Jewish Bard'.

40 Erik 1928, 140–170.

41 Basin 1917; Shipper 1923, esp. 72–79 and Tsinberg 1935, esp. 103–110.

42 Classen 2001, 195–212.

2.3 Yiddish and transcription with a translated Hebrew component – Alfred Landau and Bernhard Wachstein (1911)

Landau and Wachstein's methods truly brought Old Yiddish editorial practice into the 20th century. The *Austrian Biographical Lexicon* praised Landau's achievements:

Als sein Lebenswerk sah er seine Forschungen zur hist. Grammatik und seine Arbeit am Wörterbuch der jidd. Sprache mit Berücksichtigung der Etymol., Phraseol., Semantik und Dialekte an. Seine Forschungen bilden durch ihre Akribie und vorzügliche Methodol. die Grundlage der modernen jidd. Philol.⁴³

He regarded his research on historical grammar and his work on the dictionary of the Yiddish language including etymology, phraseology, semantics and dialects as his life's work. His research forms the basis of modern Yiddish philology through its meticulousness and excellent methodology.

Bernhard Wachstein's biography was very similar to Landau's. He too was born in Galicia and lived in Vienna, where he worked as a librarian of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*.

Landau and Wachstein presented their manuscripts (private letters) in Yiddish, adding a selection of photographic images and a Latin-script transcription with the Hebrew component in translation (set in italics). Their introduction, an extensive critical apparatus in footnotes as well as glossaries in transcription complete the edition. The Yiddish text was printed from the back of the book and the page count started there again, while the glossaries were inserted between the transcription and original-script section (Figs 8a and 8b).

Landau and Wachstein described their editorial principles, proving a very acute awareness of its possibilities and limitations and even addressing issues that are still (or once again) under debate, e.g. transferring the cursive script into a typeface,⁴⁴ adding a transcription in Latin letters,⁴⁵ etc.

Der mit hebräischen Lettern gedruckte Text gibt das Original buchstabengetreu mit allen Fehlern und Flüchtigkeiten der Schreiber wieder, um dem Leser die Originale zu ersetzen, soweit dies der Typendruck gestattet. [...]

Die Transkription mit lateinischen Lettern soll Lesern, denen die hebräische Schrift nicht geläufig ist, einen leicht lesbaren und verständlichen Text bieten, sie entfernt sich daher von den Originalen nur so weit als es dieser Zweck erfordert. [...]

⁴³ Wein 1969.

⁴⁴ See Plachta 2006, 21.

⁴⁵ See Frakes 1986 and 1989.

Die in der jüdischdeutschen Schreibung nicht ausgedrückten Vokale wurden ergänzt, wobei es, wie im sprachlichen Teile der Einleitung begründet wurde, in vielen Fällen zweifelhaft bleiben muß, ob auch wirklich die dem Schreiber vorschwebenden Laute eingesetzt worden sind.⁴⁶

The text printed in Hebrew letters renders the original faithful to the letter, with all errors and slips of the pen by the scribe, to substitute the original for the sake of the reader, insofar as the letterpress allows. [...]

The transcription with Latin letters shall offer readers who are not familiar with the Hebrew script an easy-to-read and comprehensible text, and diverges from the original only in so far as this aim requires. [...]

Those vowels which are not given in the Jewish-German spelling have been added, although, as was explained in the linguistic section of the introduction, it must remain doubtful in many cases if exactly those sounds have been added which the scribe had in mind.

The editors decided on very progressive standards for their transcription. To a greater degree than other contemporary scholars, they avoided the otherwise typical ‘Germanization’ of Yiddish texts in the form of capitalizing substantives (except for proper names and the word ‘Got’), refrained from doubling consonants, distinguishing between voiced and unvoiced s-sounds, *shade* and *shin*, and did not add lengthening ‘h’, etc. They did, however, add vowels, diphthongs, etc. without indicating they were additions, in keeping with what they considered the production of a comprehensible text. The analysis of transcription standards could be continued at this point. However, the examples given above may suffice to demonstrate the progress Landau’s and Wachstein’s edition constituted in light of their scholarly predecessors.

Furthermore, they aimed at presenting the Yiddish text as faithfully as possible by refraining from adding any punctuation, changing orthography, and the like. This is not yet a modern edition, but, in the context of its time, it remains a highly sophisticated one.

2.4 Yiddish only (with glossaries and introduction) – Moritz Stern (1922)

Moritz Stern studied in Berlin and wrote a dissertation in Semitic Studies. He also pursued a rabbinic career and was ordained in 1890, after which he served for

⁴⁶ Landau/Wachstein 1911, XLVII.

[Seite 2.]

לקק וויין
 צו הנט מיין ליבן ברודר
 דער פֿרום אונ' דער קלוג
 היקר כהר"ד אהרן
 יצ"ו
 וח"ל בנחיש דר"ג
 מק"ק פראג

6 A.

פיל שלח' אונ' גיוונד: צו אליר צייט אונ' שמונד: אזו ויל עטץ בינערט
 אונ' קינט ר'דן מיט ענקרם מונד: צו מיינר הערצן ליבן שוועסטער הצנועה
 והחסידה כל כבודה בת מלך פנימה הרבני מרת בונה שתי אונ' צו דינס
 הארצנן ליבן מאן היקר והמשכיל אי"א כהר"ד וואלף יצו אונ' צו ענקרין
 ליבן קינדליך כל אחד ואחד בשמו ר"ד זייט ווישן מיין גיוונד: דז גלייכן
 זול איך אד הערן פון ענק צו אליר שמונד: הערצה ליבה שוועסטער אונ'
 הערצנר ליבר שוואגיר אז מיין ליבר ברודר זייט ווישן אז איך האב מיך
 זער משמח גיוועזן אז איך האב גיהערט דז דוא לא"י גיוונד בישט אונ'
 השי' שמו' הוט ענק לושן גינישן ענקר צדקות אונ' חסדות אונ' דין מציל
 גיוועזן אונ' גיהולפן אז דיר ת"ל נישט נישטאט הוט השי' שמו זול ענק אליין
 ווייטער בהישן ואר לייד אונ' לושן אי"ה דרלעבן גרושי ורייד: איך האב גר
 נישט גיווישט ביז מטיל קומן איז אונ' איך ענקר ליבן פאטער האלוקה יצו
 זיין כתב גילייאט האב זוא קינט עטץ משיג זיין וויא איך מיך האב משמח
 גיוועזן לא"י אונ' מיין ביט צו השי' שמו דער זול ענק אונ' כ"י ווייטער מציל
 זיין פון דעם אונ' אליס ביזן השי' שמו זול מיין עד זיין דז מיר ענקר זארג
 מער איז אז אל מייני גרושי זארגן דיא איך האב אונ' עטץ קינט משיג זיין
 דז איך לעיע ויל זארג האב נאט² דער אלמעכט זול איטלעם זיין אויזן
 ליבן ווענדן צו גוטן וויל ניש האבן אז עטץ זולט ליאן ווש ענק צו
 וודיר איז אונ' נישט קלאגן ווייל אונ' השי' שמו הוט יוא זולכי נסים גיטן
 אונ' דיר ת"ל אויף גיהולפן וויא וואול ת"ל אידרמן זאגט וויא דוא אונ' דיין
 הארציגער ליבר מן האבן אזו ויל גושש גיטן מיט צדקה ומעשים טובי'
 אד הוטמן מיר גיזאנט וויא דיין ליבר מאן ווער ביא דיר גיבליבן אונ' ניש
 פון דיר קומן הוט ניש גיטן וויא איין מאן זונדר וויא איין פאטער זונשט

¹ Das Wort שמו ist in diesem Briefe immer mit zwei schräg übereinander stehenden Punkten versehen, die sonst hier als Abkürzungszeichen gebraucht werden.

² Das Wort נאט ist hier immer mit dem in diesem Briefe sonst als Aspirierungszeichen bei כ und פ sowie als Abkürzungszeichen gebrauchten Zirkumflex versehen, in anderen Briefen mit den dort üblichen Abkürzungszeichen.

6 A.

**Henele, Tochter des Abraham ha-Levi Heier, an ihre Schwester
Bona und deren Mann Simon Wolf Auerbach¹.**

Vil Frieden un' gefund: zu aler zeit un' stund: afo vil etz begert un' kent reden mit enker mund: zu meiner herzen liben schwester *der züchtigen und frommen, in ihrer Herrlichkeit die Königstochter in ihrem Gemache², der Rabbinerin Frau Bona s. l.³*, un' zu deinem harzigen liben man, dem teuren und verständigigen gottesfürchtigen Manne Khrr Wolf b. F. E. un' zu enkren⁴ liben kinderlich, jedem einzelnen mit Namen. Vor allem feit wisen mein gefund, del gleichen fol ich ach heren von enk zu aler stund. herze libe schwester un' herziger liber schwager af⁵ mein liber bruder, feit wisen af⁶ ich hab mich ler gefreut, af⁷ ich hab gehert, daf du z. l. J. gefund bist un' G. g. s. Name hot enk losen genisen enker *Gerechtigkeit und Frömmigkeit* un' dich *errettet* un' geholfen, as dir G. b. nischt geschat hat, G. g. s. Name fol enk alen weiter behiten vor leid, un' losen s. G. v. derleben grose v Reid: ich hab gar nischt gewist, bif Matel kumen if un' ich enker liben vater, dem *Vornehmen b. F. E.*, fein Brief geleiet⁸ hab. fo kent etz begreifen, wie ich mich hab gefreut z. l. J. un' mein bit zu G. g. s. Name, der fol enk un' g. I. weiter *erretten* von dem un' alem bëfen. G. g. s. Name fol mein Zeuge fein, daf mir enker forg mer if, af al meine grose forgen, die ich hab, un' etz kent begreifen, daf ich *jetzt* vil forg hab. got der almchtig fol itlichem fein außen legen⁹ wenden zu

¹ Die Familie Auerbach (in Dokumenten meist „Wolf“) ist eine der angesehensten im damaligen Wien. Wolf A. und seinem Vater Israel werden wir in diesen Briefen noch oft begegnen. Israel Auerbach = Israel Wolf bei Schwarz S. 203. Sein Siegel mit einem Wolf im Schilde abgebildet im Monatsblatt der heraldischen Gesellschaft „Adler“, Wien 1890, Nr. 58, S. 287. ² Ps. 45, 14. ³ Bona s. Wachstein Nr. 376. Darf man aus dem Titel *הרבנית*, den Bona führt, schließen, daß Wolf nicht ihr erster Mann und sie vorher mit einem Rabbiner oder Morenu verheiratet war? *רבנית* scheint nicht immer nur die Frau eines tätigen Mitgliedes des Rabbinate bezeichnet zu haben, auch die Frau eines Morenu dürfte Rabbinerin betitelt worden sein. Ein sicherer Beweis dieser Annahme würde viele Schwierigkeiten bei der Feststellung historischer und genealogischer Tatsachen aus dem Wege schaffen. Vgl. z. B. Reifmann in Gräbers Magazin I, 5, Nr. 5, *אחיו יעקב* und Wetstein Ha-Eschkol VI, 233. ⁴ euren. ⁵ wie. ⁶ daß. ⁷ als. ⁸ gelesen. ⁹ schlimme Lage?

Fig. 8b: Alfred Landau / Bernhard Wachstein (1911), *Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahr 1619*, Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 18. © Goethe University Frankfurt, Freimann Sammlung, University Library; <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/titleinfo/663907> (last accessed 12/09/2017).

several years as a rabbi in Kiel (northern Germany) and became head librarian of the Jewish Community in Berlin in 1905.⁴⁷

He chose ‘original only’ as an editorial practice for the text of an entire manuscript – albeit involuntarily, as he himself stated in the introduction:

Für die vorliegende Veröffentlichung im Rahmen der deutschen Sprachdenkmäler wäre es empfehlenswert gewesen, dem Text in hebräischen Buchstaben einen solchen in deutscher Umschrift folgen zu lassen. Doch war dies aus pekuniären Gründen nicht möglich. Bei der Wahl zwischen dem einen und dem anderen entschied ich mich für die Wiedergabe des Originals. Ich konnte mich nicht entschließen, nur den transkribierten Text vorzulegen, da dieses Surrogat bei den sogenannten jüdisch-deutschen Texten keinen zuverlässigen Ersatz für die Vorlage in hebräischen Schriftcharakteren bietet.⁴⁸

For the publication at hand, in the series *German Language Monuments*, it would have been advisable to let a German transcription follow the text in Hebrew letters. This was, however, for financial reasons not possible. Having to choose between one and the other, I opted for the rendition of the original. I decided not to present only the transcribed text, since this surrogate offers no reliable substitute in the case of the so-called Jewish-German texts for the *Vorlage* in Hebrew characters.

His edition was printed in typeface, while the introduction as well as glossaries where a facsimile of his handwritten version (Figs 9a and 9b). Stern’s work marked yet another step in the evolution of Yiddish editions: 1) his critical apparatus offers various annotations as to form, colour, and size, etc. of the script in the manuscript, 2) he indicates any corrections he made, 3) as well as later additions, 4) changes and corrections within the manuscript and 5) added numbering for the verses. From a methodological point of view, Stern’s edition was already very modern, were it not for the following aspects: 1) he added full stops where the manuscript presented two dots – but did so inconsistently, 2) he added a line count which does not follow the actual lines within the manuscript, but the lines of the edition itself which are organized according to the rhyming patterns, 3) as it is, the text is not always a faithful rendering of the manuscript. Prominent examples are װ in the manuscript, which often becomes ן in the edition; ן becoming ן etc. Although Stern placed his edition programmatically within the new series *German Language Monuments in Hebrew Letters* (of which this was the first and only volume), my suggestion would be that Early Yiddish was not merely a German derivate for him. He considered transcriptions to be ‘unreliable’

⁴⁷ For more information, see Metzler 2012, 57–58.

⁴⁸ Stern 1922, XIII–XIV. Manuscript: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; David Kaufmann Collection, Ms. Kaufmann A 397.

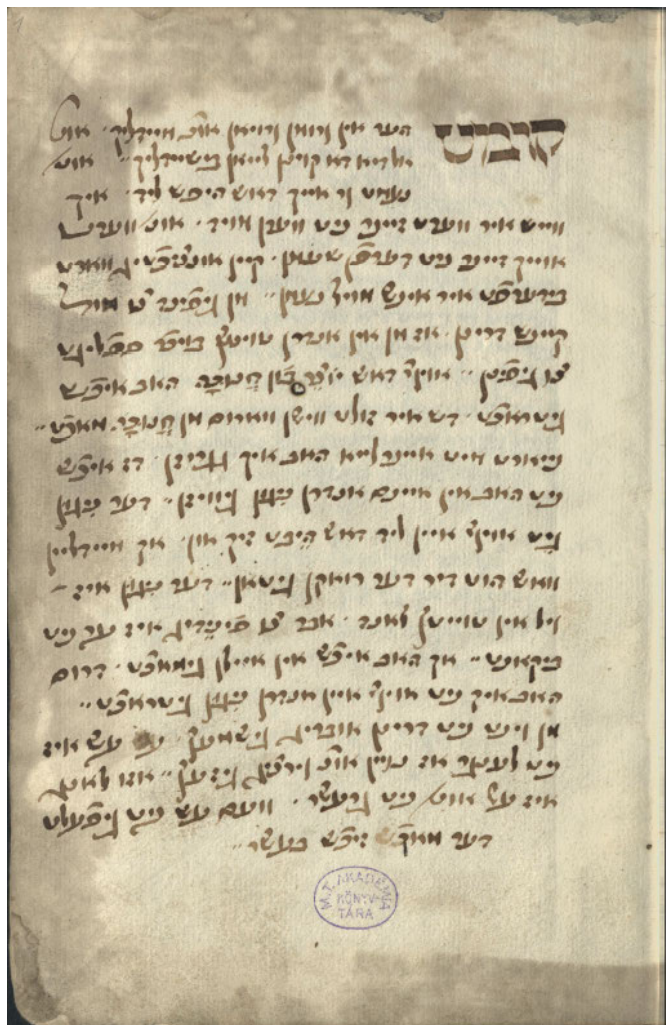


Fig. 9a: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms. Kaufmann A 397, fol. 1r. © Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.

and ‘surrogate’ – a notion that was not new in the context of 19th and 20th-century Yiddish editorial practice, but still rare.

One of (if not) the first to express this clearly was David Kaufmann in his edition of Glikl of Hameln’s memoirs (1896):

Is justification necessary for the fact that I do not present this publication in German transcription, but think it necessary to leave it in the same form in which it left its author’s

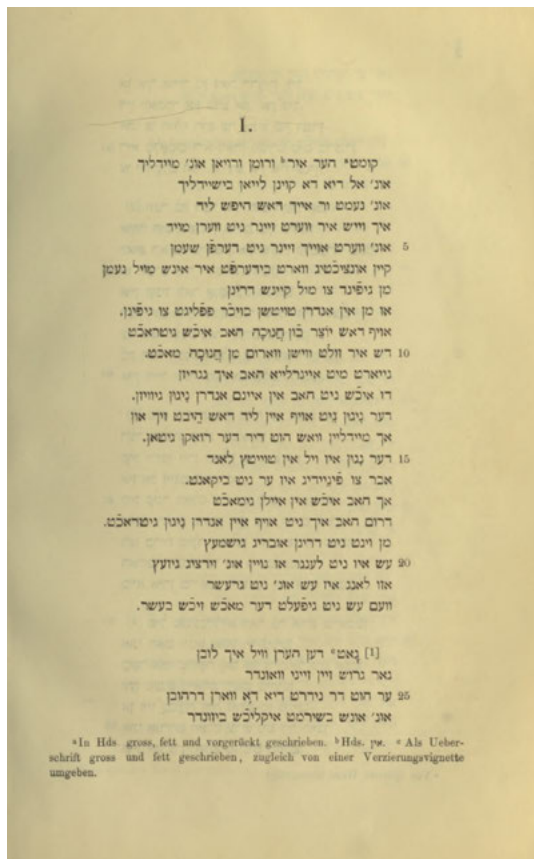


Fig. 9b: Moritz Stern (ed.) (1922), *Lieder des venezianischen Lehrers Gumprecht von Szczep-rszyn (um 1555)*, Berlin: Verlag Hausfreund, 1; <https://archive.org/details/liederdesvene-zia00gumpuoft> (last accessed 12/09/2017) [edition of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms. Kaufmann A 397].

hand? Inasmuch as I would have wished for its German translation for the sake of general scientific use [...], it seemed to me that exactly this law of strict scientificity prohibited such an endeavour as long as the original had not been provided. A mere transcription that, moreover, takes away the ripeness from the fruits and the colour from the wings of the butterfly, would not suffice. The language seems so interwoven with words and phrases, borrowings and allusions from Hebrew and Rabbinical writings, [it] shifts so suddenly and unsought from German speech into the idiom of the Bible that a translation would be necessary.⁴⁹

When it came to Early Yiddish, Kaufmann clearly favoured the presentation of the original and, as a second step, a translation, over the highly Germanized transcriptions of his day.

⁴⁹ Kaufmann 1896, IX-X.

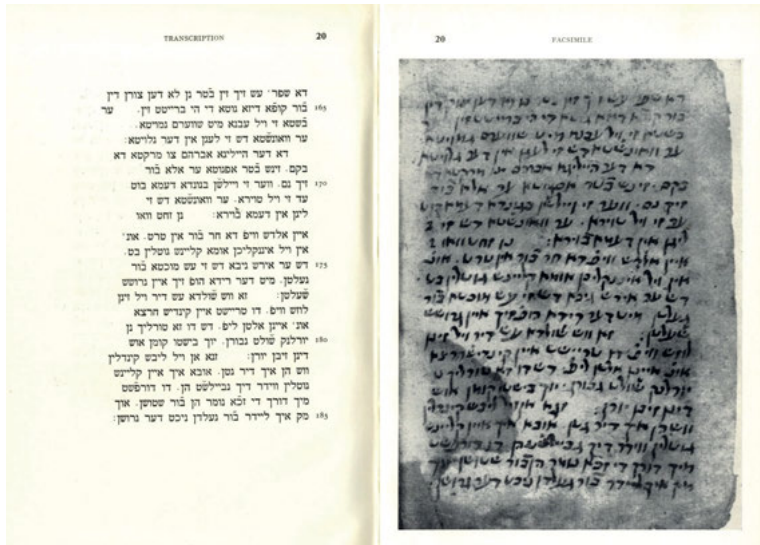


Fig. 10a: Lajb Fuks (1957), *The Oldest Known Literary Documents of Yiddish Literature* (c.1382), vol. 1: *Introduction, Facsimiles and Transcriptions*, Leiden: Brill, 40-41. © Brill Academic Publishers.

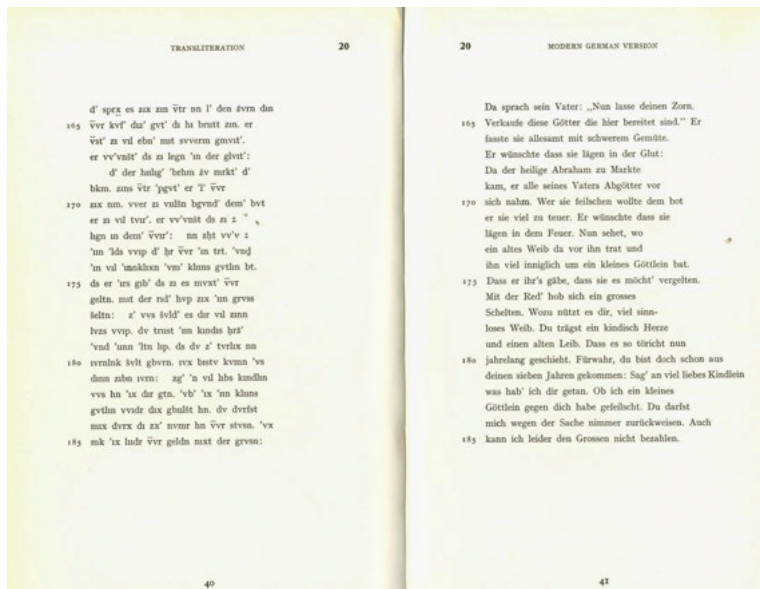


Fig. 10b: Lajb Fuks (1957), *The Oldest Known Literary Documents of Yiddish Literature* (c. 1382), vol. 2: *Transliteration, Modern German Version, Notes and Bibliography*, Leiden: Brill, 40-41. © Brill Academic Publishers (edition of Genizah fragment Cambridge University Library TS 10.K.22).

2.5 Facsimile, transcription, transliteration and translation – Lajb Fuks (1957)

Lajb Fuks, for many decades librarian at the Rosenthaliana and lecturer at the University of Amsterdam, was neither the first nor the last to edit the Yiddish texts of the Cairo Geniza (Cambridge University Library TS 10.K.22; Figs 10a and 10b).⁵⁰ Until the discovery of the inscribed pieces of slate in Cologne, they were the oldest known Yiddish literary documents.⁵¹ Their importance for the history of Yiddish literature cannot be emphasized enough, and their re-discovery also ignited a renewed interest in pre-modern Yiddish texts in general.

Fuks changed the hitherto common editorial practices by offering the texts in four different forms and formats: as facsimile together with his Hebrew-script transcription⁵² plus, in a second volume, a complex transliteration as well as translation.

It was a novelty to offer an entire Yiddish manuscript in reproduction plus this abundant variety of other formats.⁵³ However justifiably Fuks was criticized by his contemporaries and colleagues in years to come for his reading – his efforts to present the text in all these varied forms and the novelties introduced are worth being noted as significant in the history of editions.

50 For a discussion of the various editions, see Frakes 1989, 120–164.

51 See Timm 2013; see also Archäologische Zone/Jüdisches Museum in Cologne: *Findings of the Month* <https://www.museenkoeln.de/archaeologische-zone/default.asp?s=4382>.

52 ‘Transcription’ here means ‘the effort to report – insofar as typography allows – precisely what the textual inscription of a manuscript consists of’ (Vander Meulen/Tanselle 1999, 201).

53 Fuks was not the first to present the manuscript in photographic reproduction. Others, such as Landau/Wachstein 1911 or Felix Falk, had done the same, but only with parts of manuscripts, never the entire work, see Falk 1940. Furthermore, Falk did not offer his own translation, but used a German version for comparison and noted that he had rendered the originally cursive-script text in square letters and with improvements that he did not further specify (Falk 1940, 82). Felix Falk, who perished in the Holocaust, had also prepared another edition (of a print) which was reworked and published by Lajb Fuks in 1961, *Das Schemuelbuch des Mosche Esrim Wearba: Ein biblisches Epos aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*.

3 *Germanistn, Yiddishistn* and the others – Editing pre-modern Yiddish manuscript texts after 1800

3.1 The 19th century

The study of pre-modern Yiddish literature flourished especially among Jewish scholars from the middle of the 19th century onwards. By then, of course, Western Yiddish was no longer spoken, but its Eastern variant was about to enter into an era of unprecedented variety in cultural expression, gaining social and political momentum. Many of those Jewish researchers from the East to the West had, to a significant degree, been educated in German-speaking academic settings.⁵⁴ Thus, the better part of pre-modern Yiddish manuscript edition was, during the 19th and early 20th century, aimed at a German-reading audience. The intended readership, however, did not encompass only the German-speaking countries. By then, German was still considered one of the most important languages of science and the academic world.

Fuelled by the new self-conceptualization of research promoted by the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, inspired by contemporary positivistic and folkloristic work and by a new academic recognition of (comparative) linguistics and literature unrelated to the classics, they engaged with the older variants of Yiddish. This, but also the fact that Old Yiddish was at best considered a German-Jewish dialect or at worst a ‘corrupted’ form of Middle High German, created the frame for editions. Chone Shmeruk justifiably argued that

[S]cholars who had inherited the mantle of the German *Wissenschaft des Judentums* tended to overemphasize the relationship between German and Yiddish literature in order to provide evidence of Jewish participation in German culture, or even of a German-Jewish symbiosis.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Thus, the Yiddish tongue coined them the *Germanistn*, which in this case meant ‘scholars of German who have an interest in Yiddish’, see Katz 1986, 31–32.

⁵⁵ Schmeruk/Prager 2006, 367.

During the 19th century, Max Grünbaum,⁵⁶ Gustav Karpeles,⁵⁷ Alfred Landau,⁵⁸ Felix Rosenberg,⁵⁹ Abraham Tendlau⁶⁰ and Adolf Brüll⁶¹ were among them as were the bibliographers Julius Fürst⁶² and Moritz Steinschneider.⁶³ The latter was heavily criticized by contemporary colleagues for the way in which he conceptualized Yiddish,⁶⁴ but despite his ambiguous attitude towards ‘Jewish-German’ (as was the scholarly term for Yiddish at the time), Steinschneider nevertheless did it a tremendous service through his bibliographical work. He also introduced the material in various articles and engaged in an intensive, sometimes heated debate about the language and its literature.⁶⁵ He himself sharply criticized the small booklet by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen which had appeared almost a decade before, entitled *Die romantische und Volks-Litteratur der Juden in Jüdisch-Deutscher Sprache*, remarking that ‘one might have expected a fairer recognition of the Jewish-German literature from a well-known Germanist’.⁶⁶

3.2 The early 20th Century

The generation of 19th-century Yiddish scholars left an impressive legacy.⁶⁷ But while many of them still had a complex, in parts even apologetic attitude with regard to their subject, the Yiddishist movements – an array of responses to social and linguistic circumstances in Eastern Europe – arose at the beginning of the 20th century and brought a very new approach in their wake. The various political, social and cultural expressions served, even if at times involuntarily or unknow-

⁵⁶ Grünbaum 1882.

⁵⁷ Karpeles 1886 (2nd edn 1909; 3rd edn 1920), see especially the chapter ‘Die jüdischdeutsche Literatur’, vol. 2, 1000–1029; Karpeles 1895.

⁵⁸ Landau 1897, 126–132 and Landau 1911.

⁵⁹ Rosenberg 1888.

⁶⁰ Tendlau 1860.

⁶¹ Brüll 1877.

⁶² Fürst 1849.

⁶³ On Steinschneider, see Matut 2012.

⁶⁴ See Wiener 1899, 13.

⁶⁵ See his (1864), ‘Jüdische Litteratur und Jüdisch-Deutsch. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Avellemant’, esp. 33–39.

⁶⁶ ‘[...] von welchem man als bekanntem Germanisten eine gerechtere Würdigung der j.-d. Literatur hätte erwarten dürfen’ (Steinschneider 1864, 35), see Hagen 1855, 35–36, as well as Matut 2012, 389.

⁶⁷ Katz 1986, 31.

wingly, to build and define the ‘Yiddish nation’.⁶⁸ As with every nation-building-process, language, literature and folklore are at the core of the endeavour. The service other researchers had rendered their respective (nation-state) languages and literatures, mainly in the course of the 19th century,⁶⁹ was now taken up by Yiddish-speaking scholars like Shmuel Niger,⁷⁰ Max Erik,⁷¹ Bernard D. Weinryb,⁷² Yisroel Tsinberg⁷³ or a young Russian Jew by the name of Max Weinreich, who in 1923 wrote a dissertation in German Studies at Marburg University.⁷⁴ Two years later, in August 1925, he took part in a meeting in Berlin with a very important outcome – the decision to pursue the idea of a Yiddish scientific institute. As part of the future program, key tasks were defined and among them ‘Geschriebene und gesprochene Schriftsprache in vergangenen Jahrhunderten’ [Written and spoken literary language of past centuries].⁷⁵ However, in the years to come not only older variants of the language, but also its literature took centre stage in Yiddish research.

The rise of Yiddishism and the academic professional advancement of Yiddish-speaking researchers furthered the growth of Yiddish secondary literature, especially in the early 20th century. Thus, editions of texts from pre-modern manuscript were published that only presented the original texts and had a critical apparatus as well as commentaries, etc. in modern Yiddish.⁷⁶ These editions, however, were not a priori more reliable since they too were prone to ‘silent corrections’ and changes. Lack of access to relevant sources in some cases led to bizarre re-transcriptions into Hebrew letters from Latin-script versions of manuscripts (see discussion under 2.2). This happened for some, but not all manuscript texts in publications such as Basin’s *Antologye* (1917) and early-20th-century Yiddish literary histories, such as those of Ignacy Shipper (1923), Maks Erik (1928) and Yisroel Tsinberg (1935). When Max Weinreich wrote his *Bilder fun der yidisher lite-*

68 See Gottesman 2003 (with extensive bibliography); Weisler 2011 or Bar-Itzhak 2010.

69 As for instance Karl Lachmann, Georg Friedrich Benecke, Heinrich von der Hagen or Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm did for German.

70 In particular, in (1913), *Der pinkes: Yorbukh far der geshikhte fun der yidisher literatur un shprakh, far folklore, kritik un bibliografye* 1 [The Record Book: Yearbook for the History of Yiddish Literature and Language, for Folklore, Criticism and Bibliography 1].

71 Erik 1926 and 1928.

72 Weinryb/Löwinger 1936; Weinryb/Löwinger 1937.

73 Tsinberg 1935; English edition Tsinberg 1975.

74 *Geschichte und gegenwärtiger Stand der jiddischen Sprachforschung* [History and Current Situation of Yiddish Language Research].

75 Weinreich 1926, 69.

76 See, for instance, Stern 1922; Hillesum 1928 and various articles that were published within the course of a single year (1938) in the *YIVO bleter* 13 (by Birnbaum, Ginsberg and Freimann).

ratur-geshikhte (1928)⁷⁷ he strove, as did Erik and other contemporary colleagues, to include sample images of manuscripts and consulted them directly wherever possible, but was simply unable to gain access to all.⁷⁸

Parallel to these efforts, editing of pre-modern Yiddish manuscripts also continued in the German-, French- and English-speaking academic and non-academic world during the early 20th century. It was conducted either within the frame of Germanic Studies or by scholars working outside academia, for instance as librarians, rabbis or in other professions.⁷⁹ Bertha Pappenheim and Alfred Feilchenfeld published translations of excerpts from Glikl's memoirs, thus producing the first books intended for a wider German-reading, Jewish and non-Jewish, lay and professional audience dedicated exclusively to the text of an Old Yiddish manuscript.⁸⁰ All in all, it was a very promising point of departure for Old Yiddish Studies.

3.3 The period after World War II

World War II, the Shoah and Soviet ideology (as for instance in the case of Maks Erik⁸¹), destroyed these promising beginnings. In the decades after the war, research on pre-modern Yiddish and manuscript editions fell under 'The Changing Geography of Yiddish Studies'⁸² and continued within old and new language frames: Yiddish, Hebrew, German, English and French. Modern Yiddish sadly played a more and more tangential role in editing. In Israel, the former Old-Yiddish-for-Yiddish-readers' editions were continued by scholars who had themselves switched from Yiddish to Hebrew as the language of their (new) country and scholarship, as for instance Chone Shmeruk (Figs 11a and 11b) or Chava Turniansky. Thus, they offered editions with Old Yiddish versions and contextualized

⁷⁷ Weinreich 1928, image between pages 48 and 49.

⁷⁸ He had access to manuscripts especially from Germany (Hamburg, Berlin, Munich) and France (Paris) and judged that all of them coming from the context of religious education were interesting only with regard to the history of language, since he did not regard them as 'literature in the proper sense' but merely translations; Weinreich 1928, 50.

⁷⁹ See Stern 1922, Wachstein or Alfred Landau 1911 as well as Leo Landau 1912, 1916, 1919 and 1920.

⁸⁰ Pappenheim 1910; Feilchenfeld 1913 and the late 19th-century translation by Kaufmann 1896.

⁸¹ 'Due to political conditions in the Soviet Union, Erik had to almost completely renounce his scholarly interest in old Yiddish literature' (Novershtern 2010, page).

⁸² See Kuznitz 2002.

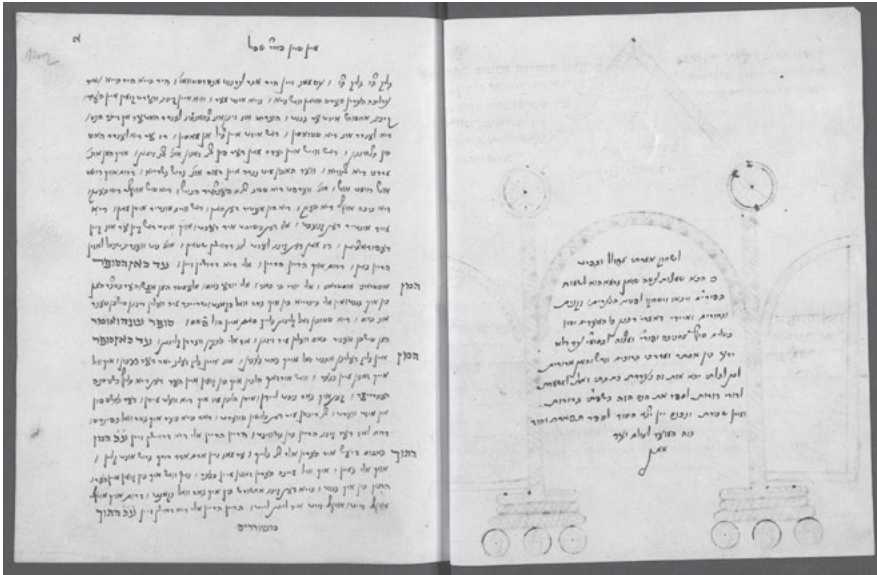


Fig. 11a: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Ms. B.H. 18, fol. 142r. © Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig.

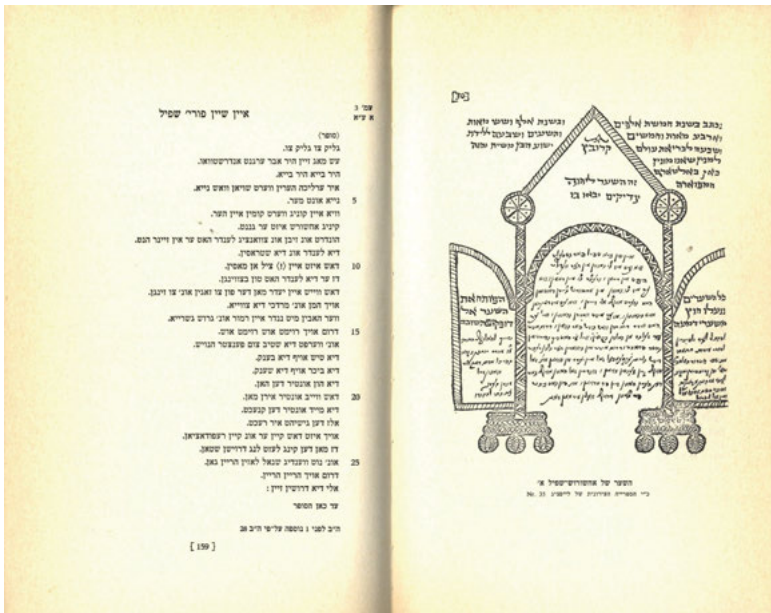


Fig. 11b: Chone Shmeruk (ed.) (1979): *Yiddish Biblical Plays 1697–1750*, Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities [Hebrew and Yiddish], 159 [edition of Leipzig, Ms. B.H. 18]. © The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

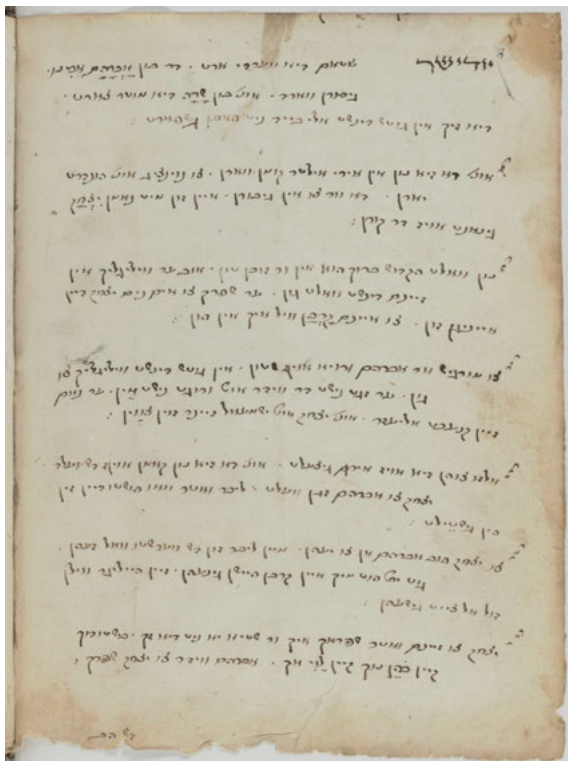


Fig. 12a: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. hebr. 589, fol. 125v. © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

them in modern Yiddish and increasingly with commentaries and critical apparatuses in Hebrew.⁸³

Editions of Yiddish manuscripts aimed at a German-reading audience continued with the works of Lajb Fuks, who lived in the Netherlands, Salomo Birnbaum, who had migrated to England, William Burley Lockwood – an English Germanist,⁸⁴ Hans-Peter Althaus, Wulf-Otto Dreeßen, Walter Röhl and later the Finnish scholar Heikki J. Hakkarainen, Erika Timm and others. An important figure who bridged pre- and post-war scholarship in Europe was Salomo A. Birnbaum⁸⁵ who, as the first lecturer for Yiddish at a western university (Hamburg), had his hopes for establishing Yiddish as a separate discipline within the framework of his envisaged *Institutum Germano-*

⁸³ See, for instance, Shermuk 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1988 and Turniansky 1980, 2006 and 2007.

⁸⁴ Lockwood 1963.

⁸⁵ His work on Old Yiddish began in the 1930s and continued into the post-war era, see, for instance, Birnbaum 1932 and 1932. For a complete and detailed bibliography, see Timm/Birnbaum/Birnbaum 2011, vol. 1, xxxix–xlvi.

Hebrew Letter	Transliteration	
א	(1) <i>a</i> . Example: אָדער-her.	
ב	(1) <i>b</i> (consonantal), used when MHG. had "v". Example: באַר- <i>u</i> ltg.	
ו	(1) <i>au</i> (consonantal), used for MHG. <i>u</i> . Example: ווער- <i>u</i> ast.	
ז	(1) <i>z</i> . Example: זאל- <i>u</i> ol.	
ט	(1) <i>t</i> . Example: טעג- <i>u</i> itit.	
י	(1) <i>i</i> (consonantal) Example: יא- <i>u</i> ik.	
כ	(1) <i>x</i> . Example: כאָפּ- <i>u</i> maxn.	
ל	(1) <i>l</i> . Example: לייב- <i>u</i> libn.	
מ	(1) <i>m</i> . Example: מער- <i>u</i> mir.	
נ	(1) <i>n</i> . Example: נאָנט- <i>u</i> hant.	
ס	(1) <i>p</i> . Example: פֿון- <i>u</i> piin. (2) <i>f</i> . Example: פֿון- <i>u</i> fun.	
צ	(1) <i>ts</i> . Example: צו- <i>u</i> tsu.	
ק	(1) <i>k</i> . Example: קינד- <i>u</i> kind.	
ש	(1) <i>s</i> . Example: שוין- <i>u</i> hisin. (2) <i>sh</i> . Example: שוין- <i>u</i> shpin.	

¹ The Hebrew letters Het (ח), Taph (פּ), and Samekh (ס) are not used in our text. Instead the phonetically equivalent, corresponding Kaph (כ), Tet (ט), and Sin (ש) are used throughout. For the first two sets of Taph-Tet and Het-Kaph this is quite a logical procedure since both letters of the pair are phonetically equivalent. In respect to Sin-Samekh however, the use of Sin only in the text complicates instead of simplifying since Sin unmarked in Hebrew permits of either a "s" or "sh" reading, as above.

Fig. 12b: Matenko, Percy / Sloan, Samuel (eds) (1968), *Two Studies in Yiddish Culture*, Leiden: Brill, 46–47 [edition of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. hebr. 589]. © Brill Academic Publishers.

Judaicum dashed in 1933.⁸⁶ After the war and his escape to England, he supported the young Walter Röll, who in turn offered the first Yiddish seminar in post-war Germany and became one of the major figures in pre-modern Yiddish research.⁸⁷

French scholar Jean Baumgarten produced the most comprehensive introduction to Old Yiddish literature in Europe after the war. He used excerpts from various manuscripts, and introduced Yiddish manuscripts from the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris to a wider audience.⁸⁸ English, as the modern-day lingua franca of science, entered into the kaleidoscope of Old-Yiddish manuscript editions with works by Leo Landau, Salomo Birnbaum, Percy Matenko and

⁸⁶ Birnbaum 1987 and published again in Timm/Birnbaum/Birnbaum 2011, vol. 1, 297–304.

⁸⁷ For more information on Walter Röll and the re-establishment of Yiddish Studies in Germany, see Timm, 2016, 23.

⁸⁸ Baumgarten 1993a and 1993b and its English version Baumgarten 2005.

Samuel Sloan (Figs 12a and 12b), Jerold C. Frakes or Harry Fox and Justin Jaron Lewis.⁸⁹

Social, political and academic circumstances often did not encourage a career in Yiddish, not to mention pre-modern Yiddish Studies. Thus, to this very day, Western Yiddish still lacks all the positivistic work that is the basis of scientific research and has been performed long since for other languages: a dictionary, a grammar, and editions of almost all its important literary works.

4 Editing Yiddish texts as Early Modern texts

Editionswissenschaft (edition philology / textual scholarship) for pre-modern Yiddish manuscripts encompasses the 14th to 18th centuries. Thus, it faces all the questions related to the edition of either mediaeval, or, for the main part, Early Modern material. While textual scholarship developed its perspectives based on post-1750 or medieval writings, demands related to Early Modern texts had, for a long time, not been noted. Thus, between the two major poles of editorial traditions, a new one arose that developed into a unique link. Bodo Plachta's observation for German Early Modern texts holds true for Yiddish ones as well:

Sicherlich stehen alle editionstheoretischen und -praktischen Bemühungen für die Edition von Texten der Frühen Neuzeit zunächst erst einmal vor dem Problem, die gewaltigen Lücken in der Textversorgung mit wissenschaftlich fundierten, gleichzeitig aber vom Aufwand her vertretbaren Editionen zu schließen. Die Verluste und Zersplitterungen, die durch die Weltkriege des 20. Jahrhunderts in den Beständen der europäischen Bibliotheken gerade für diese Epoche entstanden sind, machten die Recherche nach Originalen und deren bibliographische Erfassung zu einer vorrangigen Aufgabe. [...] Insofern rechtfertigen sich die einschlägigen Editionsprogramme nicht so sehr aus ästhetisch-philologischen Belangen, sondern in erster Linie aus Gründen der Textdokumentation.⁹⁰

Surely all efforts with regard to edition theory and practice for texts of the Early Modern Period face the problem of having to close the tremendous gaps in text-supply with scientifically sound, but in terms of effort, still reasonable editions. The losses and fragmentations which occurred in European libraries because of the world wars in the 20th century make, especially for this period, the search for originals and their bibliographical compilation a

⁸⁹ See Landau 1912 and 1919; Matenko/Sloan 1968; Eidelberg 1991; Frakes 2008 and Fox/Lewis 2011. Translations of pre-modern Yiddish manuscripts should be mentioned here as well, although they are not part of the canon of editing but form their own category as translation studies, see Neugroschel 2002; Fox/Lewis 2011, and Frakes 2014.

⁹⁰ Roloff, B7: 1887, 17. See Plachta 2006, 19–20.

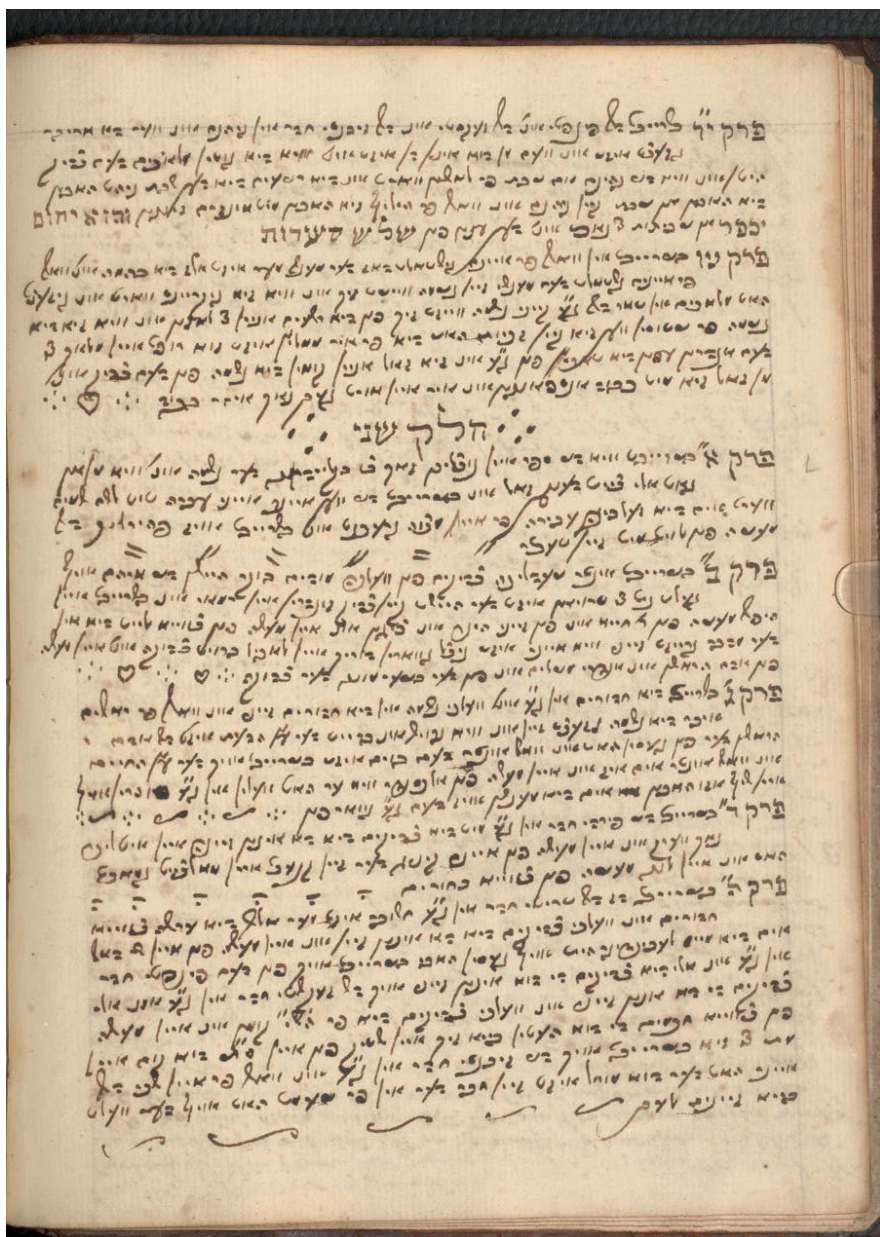


Fig. 13a: Ms. Hebr. Oct. 183, fol. 33b. © Frankfurt City and University Library.

❖ חלק שני ❖

פרק א' בשרייבט וויא דש ספר איין נעליכן זאך צו בקליידרעג דער נשמה און וויא מן אן גאט אלי צייט דענקן זאל און בשרייבט דש ווען איינר איינר עברה טוט לשם שמים ווערט אים דיא זעלביגה עבירה פאר איין מצוה גרעכנט און בשרייבט ארויז פהיליך דש מעשה פון

לייט מיט זיין טעכטער ❖❖❖

פרק ב' בשרייבט אונטער שערליכה צדיקים פון וועלכה מורים בוקר היישן דש איהם אויף געלט ניט צו טרויאן איזט דער היישט קיין צדיק זונדרין איין רמאי און בשרייבט איין היפש מעשה פון ר' חייא און פון זיינע הינד און ציגין און איין מעשה פון צווייא לייט דיא איין דער מדבר גרייזט זיינע וויא איינר איזט ניצל גווארין דורף איין לאביל ברויט צדוקה און איין מעשה פון אדם הראשון און אנדרי משלים און פון דער בשערמונג דער צדוקה ❖❖❖

פרק ג' בשרייבט דיא חדורים אין ג"ע און וועלכי נשמה אין דיא חדורים זיינע און וואש פאר ראשים איבר דיא נשמה גזעצט זיין און וויא גרויש און ברייט דער עץ הדעת איזט דש אדם הראשון דער פון געסין האט און וואש אונטער דעם בוים איזט בשרייבט אויך דער עץ החיים און וואש אונטער אים איז און איין מעשה פון אלכסנדר וויא ער האט וועלן אין ג"ע

אניין אויף איין שיף אזו האבין <ויא> אים דיא מענטשן ארויז דעם ג"ע נווארפן ❖❖❖ **פרק ד'** בשרייבט דש פיריר חדר אין ג"ע מיט דיא צדיקים דיא דא איינר זיינע איין איטליכה נאך ווערק און איין מעשה פון איינס קניג דער זיין קנעכט איין מאלצייט גמאכט האט און איין לג מעשה פון צווייא בחורים ❖❖❖

פרק ה' בשרייבט דו דש טריט חדר אין ג"ע חשוב איזט מער אלס דיא ערשט צווייא חדורים און וועלכי צדיקים דיא דא איינר זיין און איין מעשה פון איין בר דאש אים דיא מיס לעבניגער היט אויף געסין האבן בשרייבט אויך פון דעם פינפטן חדר אין ג"ע און אלי דיא צדיקים די איינר זיינע אויף איין וויא אויך דש זעקשטן חדר אין ג"ע און אלי צדיקים די דיא איינר זיינע

און וועלכי צדיקים דיא פאר דש"י קומן און איין מעשה פון צווייא חכמים די דוא העטן בייא זיך איין שטיק פון איין ס"ח דוא קום איין מה צו דיא בשרייבט אויך דש זיכנט חדר אין ג"ע און וואש פאר איין שחר דש איינר האט דער דוא מוחל איזט זיין חבר דער אין פאר מערסט האט אויך דער וועלט בייא זיינעם לעבן ❖❖❖

[Fol. 8a]

פרק ו' בשרייבט וואש פאר איין חדר דיא ווייבר האבין אין דעם ג"ע ציין גיט זיך גאר לאנג און עש ווערט דער ציילט וויא דיא נשמה צו ר' שמעון בן יוחיאי אין דער היל קומין זיין און אים פון דיא ווייברשטין חדורים דער ציילט און איין מעשה פון צווייא דרשנין דש שמש דיא פסק האט צווישן זיא אויז גשפראכן בשרייבט אויך וואו דיא נשמה פון איינס גר

אהער קומט און וויא גאט בצאלט אידן גליד וואש גוטש האט בשידן וואו דער חידר גלאנג אהער און בשרייבט איין מעשה וויא דיא נשמת איין גשפנט ווארין אין וועגן אויז שלאפן איינע דיא אנדריין וועגן אידן זינדן לסוף אלי נשמת פון זיא לייט עש זיא איין גוי אורד ידודי בוי זיא גלוטרט ווערט און זיא ווארן צו דעכט ברענגן און זיא ווארין אלי

תפלה טון צו גאט און זיין נאמן ווארט אייבט זיין איין דער גאנצי וועלט ❖❖❖ **פרק זין** בשרייבט וואש אלז אין ג"ע איזט און וואש ר' יהודה בן לוי גוואנט האט אין ג"ע דוא ער לעבניגער וואר אניין קומין דער ציילט אויך וויא פיר חכמים אין ג"ע שפאצירן גאנצן זיין און וואש זיא גועהן האבין און וואש פאר איין שחר דער ר' עקיבה מיט אנדרי

הרוגי מלכות האט און בשרייבט וויא פיל לייט זיינע לעבניגער אין ג"ע קומין און וואש זיא אלש גועהן האבין און וויא דער ר' פרידא איין טויטן מענטש אונטער איין בוים גפונדיג האט

Fig. 13b: Riemer, Nathanael / Senkbeil, Sigrid (eds) (2011), *"Be'er Sheva" by Beer and Bella Perlhefter. An Edition of a Seventeenth Century Yiddish Encyclopedia*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 14–15 [edition of Frankfurt City and University Library, Ms. Hebr. Oct. 183]. © Harrassowitz Verlag.

priority. [...] Insofar, edition programs are justified not so much because of aesthetic-philological concerns but first and foremost for reasons of text documentation.

Although the historical-critical method of editing manuscripts was invented in the 19th century, it has of course undergone a significant process of change and

They caused our dear Lord [God] to swear an oath that they would all die in forty years,⁹¹ and their wives and their children would inherit the land.⁹² Our dear Lord was very much right in doing this to them, because they had disdained the holy land.

Zelophehad's Daughters

But the women were worthy of all honor. They had desired the holy land,⁹³ as we find explicitly in the Book: how the daughters of Zelophehad,¹ the son of Hephher, came to our master Moses and demanded that he give them an inheritance.⁹⁴

This decision was too difficult for him⁹⁵—do not take this for a joke. Moses brought their case to God,⁹⁶ who said to him, “Zelophehad’s daughters are speaking justly.⁹⁷ I would not sell them cheaply.⁹⁸ You shall surely give⁹⁹ them an inheritance and a portion.”¹⁰⁰ The chapter on inheritance was written because of them, in their praise,¹⁰¹ because they were so pious and so wise.

Ruth

Now let us turn the page on the daughters of Zelophehad.

Ruth the Moabitess¹⁰² was also an exemplar of piety. She left behind the house of her father, King Eglon,¹⁰³ and entered the faith [45b-] that we Jews have.¹⁰⁴

She did not let any work bother her. When she was gleaning in Boaz’s field,¹⁰⁵ she did not want to stoop [to] the fallen ears [of grain] that lay there in the grass, so she sat down among them and gleaned.¹⁰⁶ She did not want to bend over to them at all; she was afraid her bottom¹⁰⁷ would go above her back, and that would not be modest; her bare legs might be seen.¹⁰⁸ This too was one of her pious deeds.

1 The daughters of Zelophehad: See Numbers 27:1–11, after a chapter on how the promised land is to be divided among the patrilineal tribes and clans, those whose father had died without leaving sons ask to inherit their father’s share. Rabbinic tradition generally is highly favorable to the daughters of Zelophehad, see Benveniste, *From Eve to Esther*, 126–128.

2 I would not sell them cheaply: that is, “they are dear to Me”; see DWb fol. 1.

3 Ruth the Moabitess: The following section about Ruth, widow of the Israelite Naomi’s son, is based on the biblical book of Ruth and Ruth’s commentary.

זי מאכטן דעם אנזער ליבן הער ווען שווערן /
אין אים דעם זאך און ווערן אים ווערן שטערבן /
און איר ווייב און איר קינד ווערן דעם לאנד ערבן /
אזוי: ליבן הער טעט אים זי איר גוטע
דארום: דעם זאך ווערן לאנד האטן באר שפעט

Zelophehad's Daughters
65a

אבן / דא ווערן ווארן אלע קינד ווערן
זי האטן דעם / ווערן לאנד בינעט
און פיר שטערבן ווערן אים / ספר
ווערן ערשטע שטערבן ווערן פאר
קעגן צו קעגן ביטן / אזי היטן אים געבן קעגן
דער פערט וואר אים צו / הערב
ניט האלטעט עס באר אים שטעט
קעגן / געזעהט איר געזעהט צו ניט
ער זאגט אים געזעהט / טוכטער צעלפער ריין זי ווערן מיר ניט וויל
געבן / דא ווערן געבן צו אים ערב אים טייל
די פערט בון / ערבא ווארן בון איר ווערן אן געשריבן צו פרייז /
דארום דעם זאך אן ווערן און אז ווערן

Ruth
65a–66b

נון / שלאגן מיר טוכטער צעלפער צו ווערן
ווערן האטען: די ווערן איר איר ווערן שטערבן
די ליש שטערבן אירש / ווערן היט קעגן ערשט
און טראגן איר דעם גלאבן / (65b) דעם מיר ווערן ווערן
קעגן ערשט ליש זי ווערן טייל
דא די לא אן בונד ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן
די אב ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן
דא ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן
די ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן
און ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן
דעם ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן ווערן

Fig. 14: Fox, Harry / Lewis, Justin Jaron (ed. and trans.) (2011), *Many Pious Women*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 192–193 [edition of Cambridge University Library, Ms. Cambridge add. 547]. © De Gruyter.

criticism that altered its appearances and standards.⁹¹ The debates surrounding critical editions will probably never cease and help the field to evolve even further. Contemporary discussions include questions of legibility and general complexity of editions, orthography and punctuation, notation and noting the *Lautstandsbewahrung* (the state of development of the sound system), the dissolution of fonts and handwriting⁹² etc. Editors of pre-modern Yiddish texts have to face these questions even more intensively, since they are working with a Jewish language written in Hebrew characters that is a *Nahsprache* (neighbouring language) of German. Thus, one of the main issues beside all other general editorial questions will always be: transcription/transliteration, or not? An entire line of further considerations entails from this point.

Editors' choices have depended on various parameters, such as: which period does a manuscript belong to, what is the editor's own scholarly background, how

91 See Plachta 2006, 11–12.

92 See Plachta 2006, 21.

«Nr. 11: Das so genannte *Taub Jeklein*»

Śeliḥess¹

Ain hüpschēn ḥatonu², gār wol gēdicht:

- [1] **Ḥatonu** adabero vejeruah³.
 ich wil eich sagēn wás do is gēschehēn bschnss⁴ schn"ḥ⁵,
 in der kehilē hakedōschē⁶!
 vrogt niks un` lōt eich niks sein kosche⁷,
 kosche lōt eich niks sein, den {.} is eitēl Purim gēmain,⁸
 dás mán mácht ain špil fun taub Jeklein
 un` mit seinēm weib Kendlein
 un` mit seinēn zwai` sindlēch⁹ fein.
- [2] **Fein** hōt mán eś tun vor-lesēn,
 wi' si' hábēn gēfirt ain wesēn¹⁰.
 un` dás is kurzlich gēschehēn,
 ē ich mich háb um-gēsehēn.
 um-gēsehēn hin un` her,
 ich háb gētracht gār ser,
 bis ich eś háb gēbracht in ler,
 eś is mir gēwordēn gār schwer.

¹ Pl. von hebr./jidd. סליחה *Seliḥa* 'Buß- oder Bittgebet', vgl. den Einzelkommentar zum Text.

² Hebr. wörtlich: 'Wir haben gesündigt'. Bezieht sich auf eine *Ḥaṭanu-Seliḥa* 'ein Bußgebet; Bitte um Vergebung', bzw. deren Anfang.

³ 'Ich werde sprechen und es wird [mich] erleichtern', Beginn einer *Seliḥa* mit akrostischer Struktur, vgl. Butzer 2003:118.

⁴ hebr./jidd. 'im Jahr'

⁵ פ'ש"נ = 5358 nach jüdischer und 1598 nach christlicher Zeitrechnung.

⁶ hebr./jidd. 'in der heiligen Gemeinde'

⁷ hebr./jidd. 'schwierig, schwer'

⁸ 'Denn es ist normal (üblich) an Purim, dass [...]'; Steinschneider (1864, 25. Jg., Heft 7:102, Nr. 450): 'denn es ist alle Purim gemein'.

⁹ 'Söhnchen'

¹⁰ *Wesēn* im Sinne von '(ein) Wesen oder Unwesen treiben': „Das Unwēsen, [...] hoher Grad der Unordnung [...] Unfug und Unwesen anrichten. S. Wesen“, vgl. Adelung-GKW Bd. 4: *Das Unwesen*.

Fig. 15a: Matut, Diana (2011), *Dichtung und Musik im frühneuzeitlichen Aschkenas* [...], vol. 1: Edition, Boston, Leiden: Brill, 104–105. (see Figs 7a and 7b) [edition of Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. opp. add. 4° 136]. © Brill Academic Publishers.

TEXT 11

105

«דאָס אזוי גערופֿענע טויב יעקליין»

Ms. S. 17

סלחות

איין הויפּשן חטאנו גר וואל גידיכט:

[1]¹¹ חטאנו: אדברא¹² וירוח:איך וויל אייך זאגן ווש דא איז גישעהן בשנת'' שנ''ח¹³:

אין דער קהילה הקדושה:

וראגט ניקש אונ' לוט אייך ניקש זיין קשה:

קשה לוט אייך ניקש זיין: דען { } איז אייטל פורים גימין:

דש מן מַכֵּט איין שפּיל פון טויב יעקליין:

אונ' מיט זיינע ווייב קענדליין:

אונ' מיט זיינע צווייא זינדליך פֿיין:

[2] פֿיין: הוט מן עש טון וואר לעזין:

וויא זיא הבין גיפֿירט איין וועזין:

אונ' דש איז קורצליך גישעהן:

אי איך מיך הב אום גיזעהן:

אום גיזעהן הין אונ' הער:

איך הב גיטראכט גר זער:

ביז איך עש הב גיבראכט אין לער¹⁴:

עש איז מיר גיווארדן גר שווער:

¹¹ Die Strophen 1–4 dieses Liedes fallen im Ms. besonders auf, da die Schrift eine andere ist (siehe Kommentar). Als Trennzeichen dient hier nicht der Doppelpunkt, sondern ein Doppelstrich ".

¹² Steinschneider (1864, 25. Jg., Heft 7:102, Nr. 450) אדברה.

¹³ Shmeruk (1979:121) שב''ח Steinschneider (1864, 25. Jg., Heft 7:102, Nr. 450) בשנת'' ש''פ.

¹⁴ Das Fragment im Besitz Steinschneiders (*Serapeum* Jg. 25, Heft 7:102, Nr. 450) präsentiert eine andere Variante dieses Liedes. Dort heißt es statt *ler* 'Reim':

'Ich hab getracht gar sehr,
bis ich es hab gebracht in Reim
is mir geworn sehr schwer'.

Nach Rosenberg (1888:257) sei 'Reim' auch die eigentliche Bedeutung des Wortes *ler*. Das mhd. *lêre* steht auch für 'Maß, Anordnung' (vgl. MTw: *lêre*). Butzer (2003:69) hat das fragliche Wort als 'Lehre, Lehrstück' übersetzt.

Fig. 15b: Matut, Diana (2011), *Dichtung und Musik im frühneuzeitlichen Aschkenas* [...], vol. 1: Edition, Boston, Leiden: Brill, 104–105. (see Figs 7a and 7b) [edition of Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. opp. add. 4° 136]. © Brill Academic Publishers.

extensive is a manuscript, which readership for the edition is intended, which resources with regard to finances, time and technical requirements are available? Other relevant factors include: does the owner of the manuscript support publication, are transliteration or transcriptions accepted methods or not, what are the current trends and discussions for editions of manuscripts of the same period, etc.?

Still, editions of texts transmitted in manuscript in the early 21st century adhere, in principle, to one of the methods mentioned before: the ‘Yiddish only variant’, contextualised in Hebrew, English or German in the manuscript editions by Jerold Frakes, Nathanael Riemer⁹³ (Figs 13a and 13b) or Claudia Rosenzweig,⁹⁴ the ‘Yiddish plus translation’ in the publications by Evi Butzer (Michels),⁹⁵ Chava Turniansky⁹⁶ or Harry Fox and Justin Jaron Lewis (Fig. 14) as well as the ‘Yiddish with transcription’ as published by Diana Matut (Fig. 15a and 15b) or Erika Timm.⁹⁷

Interestingly, however, the Latin-script-only variety is no longer in use. This illustrates just how important the original written form is judged to be and that, in general, back-checking with the source text has to be made possible.

All in all, the editing of pre-modern Yiddish manuscript texts has not stagnated, it continues, but is by no means where it should or could be. As said before, not even the fundamental tools for Old Yiddish studies, such as a grammar and dictionary exist. The basic need of any literary, cultural and philological studies is reliable editions – but the most important texts in manuscript form which have had a long-lasting effect on Ashkenazic society have not yet appeared in scholarly editions. Furthermore, texts of important manuscripts that have been published in the dawn period of Old Yiddish studies should, in theory, now be subject to modern editorial practices. Thus, the situation is not a gratifying one.

⁹³ Riemer/Senkbeil 2011 with commentary and contextualisation in Riemer 2010.

⁹⁴ Rosenzweig 2016.

⁹⁵ Butzer 2003.

⁹⁶ Turniansky 2006.

⁹⁷ Timm 2013.

5 What the future of editing pre-modern Yiddish manuscript texts could entail

So far, Old-Yiddish editorial practice has remained relatively conservative. While modern editions of the late 20th and early 21st century are by and large outstandingly meticulous and extremely reliable, they have not yet entered the digital age.

However, for the material at hand, engaging with the field of digital humanities could mean a wealth of new possibilities:

1. The material situation is very particular for the Early Modern period. One or two manuscripts of major Yiddish works often face a significant number of contemporary or later print editions that can sometimes even reach into the 21st century. Digital editing would allow presentation of all manuscripts plus substantial reworked or altered book editions in a synoptic manner. The reader could choose which versions she/he would like to compare by opening the respective tabs.
2. More extensive editorial projects could present first results without having to finish the entire editing process in advance.
3. If applicable, an editorial project could more easily open up for cooperation with scholars outside the first or basic text preparation for additional translations, commentaries, critical annotations, etc.
4. The edition could, beside the Yiddish text itself, encompass as many different forms and formats as wanted. A particular type that might not be necessary or is not requested could simply remain unopened.

Meanwhile, the implementation of and scholarship on digital editing are progressing rapidly, as is the technical development for OCR in the context of Hebrew and Yiddish prints and manuscripts.⁹⁸ Still, Old Yiddish manuscripts to date are only included in the most basic sense: as part of larger Judaica collections online, made available as images or PDFs without an edition in the proper sense of the word. Some projects, such as the University of Cambridge's digital library with the manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah, have at least installed tabs beside each individual folio of the Yiddish manuscript, which are still empty bearing the heading 'Transcription' ('normalised' or 'diplomatic') and 'Translation'⁹⁹ – the manuscript

⁹⁸ See Vliet 2002 and Berger 2002 and the very extensive Sahle 2013.

⁹⁹ See, for example, the technically convincing digital copy of the Yiddish Geniza manuscript Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter collection 10 K 22; <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-TS-00010-K-00022/1 ff.> (last accessed 20/03/2017).

that once triggered an unprecedented interest in pre-modern Yiddish texts might also be the first to enter into the digital age of Yiddish manuscript editing.

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Ilona Steimann

The Preservation of Hebrew Books by Christians in the Pre-Reformation German Milieu

Abstract: The main aim of this article is to provide an overview of how German humanists and Hebraists formed their Hebraica collections around 1500, ranging from less than a dozen Hebrew codices to several hundred volumes in mid-16th-century humanist libraries. The period in question is actually one of the earliest encounters that Christians had with a great number of Jewish books, and reflects earlier Christian conceptions of Jewish literature as well as predetermining those to come. First, the article analyses the modes and channels for the acquisition of Hebraica by Christians and the difficulties involved in such a task, which had serious implications for the scope and character of Christian Hebraica collections. It then traces the dissemination of Jewish texts among Christians according to the texts' genres and discusses their Christian uses. Christian additions to and modifications of Hebrew texts reflected polemics, appreciation and appropriation, and as a whole effected the transition of the Hebrew book from a Jewish to a Christian object.

A Hebrew book of any religious content was a sacred object in Jewish life and yet a controversial object in the eyes of a Christian owner. For the latter, it was a desired artefact that had to be preserved on the grounds of its great value for humanist and Hebraist studies, but at the same time it was also a repository of false beliefs and blasphemy that needed to be polemicised and even destroyed. These two seemingly conflicting qualities of Jewish religious and cultural traditions were reflected in the ways in which Christians collected and treated Hebrew books.

The period in question represents one of the most formative stages in the history of Christian collecting of Hebraica, from less than a dozen Hebrew codices in the 15th-century German collections to several hundred volumes in mid-16th-century humanist libraries. The rise of early Hebraica collections was intimately related to 15th-century persecutions and expulsions of Jews from many German cities. As a result of the expulsions, Christians realised that Hebrew books, which were necessary for their own scholarly studies, would become scarce and soon vanish altogether. On the other hand, paradoxically, it was precisely the expulsions and confiscations of Jewish property that opened a channel for the acquisition of Hebrew manuscripts by Christians. Prior to these campaigns, Jews had

rarely co-operated with non-Jews when it came to Hebrew books, but after the expulsions, many Hebrew codices were left behind by them and became available to Christian book collectors. In this situation, two main factors that were decisive for forming early Christian Hebraica collections were brought together: the necessity to preserve Hebrew books for Hebraist scholarship and the relative availability of such works in a Christian environment.

In what follows, I would like to present some considerations regarding the modes of transition and dissemination of Hebrew books among Christians in the period of diminishing Jewish urban presence in the German milieu. Drawing on analyses of the original Hebrew codices which were found in Christian libraries at that time, I will examine the implications of such transition and dissemination modes for the character of early Hebraica collections and for Christian conceptions of Jewish literature in general.

An indicative example of the post-expulsion provenance of Hebrew manuscripts in Christian libraries is given by a collection of eight biblical and liturgical Hebrew codices (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [BSB], Chm 14, 16, 21, 69, 88, 90, 298 and 410) from the library of the Nuremberg physician and humanist Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), who was well known in his time, being the compiler of the Nuremberg *Liber chronicarum* (*The Book of Chronicles*).¹ One of his codices, a tiny, mutilated *siddur* on parchment produced in Franconia c. 1300 (BSB, Chm 410), bears an inscription which directly links it to the expulsion. The *siddur* was inscribed by Schedel on its second back flyleaf (foliated as fol. 262v):

Iste liber hebraicus post expulsionem hebreorum ex Babenberga in sinagoga eorum (que postea consecrata fuit in pulchram capellam) repertus est. Hunc librum fratre ordinis prae dicatorum mihi hartmanno Schedel doctore dono dederunt anno domini etc. 1502 die 27. Novembris Babenberge. Quem laceratum decorari feci ad laudem excelsi.

This Hebrew book was discovered after the expulsion of the Jews from Bamberg in their synagogue (which was sanctified afterwards as a beautiful chapel). Brothers of the preaching order [Dominicans] gave this book to me, Doctor Hartmann Schedel, as a gift in 1502 CE, on 27 November in Bamberg. I have had this torn book restored in praise of the Sublime One.

The words ‘Iste liber hebraicus...’ indicate that due to Schedel’s lack of command of the Hebrew language, he most likely had no idea that this was a prayer book, otherwise he would have recorded its title, as he usually did with his non-Hebrew books.² Yet as a historian and book collector, it was important for Schedel to

¹ Walde 1916, 186–90.

² As for Schedel’s command of Hebrew, see Stauber 1908, 50; Walde 1916, 186.

document the circumstances in which he had received the book. Thus he recorded the precise details, including the book's source, the expulsion of the Jews from Bamberg and the transformation of their synagogue. On the other hand, his note does not appear to be dry documentation for its own sake; rather, by recording this particular information, Schedel eventually created a conceptual chain of events in which appropriation of Hebrew books and conversion of synagogues into churches formed an integral part of the expulsions.³

The synagogue in Bamberg that he referred to had been erected in the mid-13th century. It was apparently confiscated by the authorities in 1422 and rebuilt as the *Marienkappelle* (Chapel of the Virgin Mary), which was documented as 'Unsere Lieben Frau Kapellen' for the first time in 1428. It was rebuilt again in 1470 as a larger structure, namely *Marienkirche*.⁴ Therefore, the expulsion of Jews from Bamberg mentioned by Schedel might be the event that occurred in 1422. It is not clear to what extent the authorities implemented the expulsion order, however, since it was followed by other expulsions as well, the latest one being in 1478.⁵

The battered condition of the *siddur*, as well as of Schedel's other Hebrew manuscripts, suggests that the manuscripts came from synagogue *genizot* appropriated by Christians after the expulsions. The *siddur* was most probably found by the Dominicans in the *geniza* of Bamberg's synagogue. This hypothesis is supported by Schedel's statement that the manuscript had been found in a torn condition and he had then restored it. My examination of the manuscript revealed that the beginning, end and certain other quires were missing and that the margins of some of the leaves were torn, as in fols 259–260. A strip of different parchment pasted into the margin in order to fill in a gap was apparently added by Schedel as part of the manuscript's restoration. The fact that Schedel personally attended to the material condition of his Hebrew codices reflects his approach towards Hebrew books, treating them as precious artefacts whose importance went well beyond the texts they contained. By restoring the manuscripts in his possession, Schedel demonstrated that cultural objects of this kind needed to be nurtured and preserved carefully in their entirety.

On the basis of this *siddur* and other Hebrew manuscripts from Schedel's library, which were not discussed here, the timing of Schedel's collection of his Hebrew codices (1500–1504) after the Jewish expulsions from Bamberg and his hometown, Nuremberg, in 1499 appears to be crucial.⁶ The expulsions not only

³ For further discussion on this point, see Steimann 2014, 146–150.

⁴ Loeb 1999, 64; cf. Krautheimer 1927, 181–186; Eckstein 1933, 8–9.

⁵ Schmidt 1989, 137ff; Eberhardt/Hamm/Kraus 2007, 73.

⁶ See Steimann 2014, 40–47 regarding the dating of Schedel's acquisitions.

provided the actual channel for this collecting, but its specific reason, a fact that left a certain imprint on its character and nature. The expulsion was one of the most important events in the German milieu at the end of the 15th century, and it obviously attracted heightened attention to the Jews and their books. Despite the fact that practical use of Jewish books for any kind of interaction with the Jews was no longer relevant after this momentous event, Christians were aware of the importance of Hebrew codices for Christian Hebrew scholarship. At the same time, they re-evaluated the potential of the original Jewish sources in understanding the hidden sides of Jewish life allegedly related to secret ritual practices – the aspects which often served as the reason for expulsions, strengthening the conceptual linkage between the expulsions and Christian collections of Hebraica.

In the case of collectors like Schedel, who did not understand any Hebrew or look for any particular books, but were interested in Jewish literature in general, the Hebrew codices incorporated in their libraries were acquired from whatever was available in their immediate environment. These acquisitions, although reflecting efforts at finding Hebrew books, were therefore rather occasional in nature and do not indicate any particular priorities with regard to the books' content on the part of the collectors. The most widespread works were Pentateuchs (Toras) and prayer books due to their wide use in Jewish communities. Thanks to their high demand among Jews, the production of such texts in mediaeval Ashkenaz was proportionally much higher than that of any other Jewish texts, leading to their high representation in Christian libraries after the expulsions.

The confiscations for their part constituted another channel for the acquisition of Hebrew books by Christians in the mediaeval and early-modern periods. As early as the 13th century, the authorities confiscated Hebrew books in order to examine them as part of a process of condemning post-biblical Jewish literature.⁷ Around 1500, the confiscations of Hebrew books widely implemented by the authorities were motivated by their 'anti-Christian' content, such as curses and terms of mockery used against Christians that were supposedly found in post-biblical Jewish literature.⁸ These indictments focused on the Talmud as the chief cause of the Jews' obstinacy in their perfidy. In 1509, for example, Johann Pfefferkorn, a convert from Judaism (c. 1469–1521) strongly supported by the Dominican order, persuaded Emperor Maximilian I to issue a decree ordering the confiscation of all Jewish books except the Hebrew Bible. The aim of this action was to put

⁷ Cohen 1984, 56–60; Chazan 1989, 23.

⁸ Deutsch 2010, 42–43.

an end to the practice of Judaism. Pfefferkorn claimed that the post-biblical literature of the Jews, especially the Talmud, contained blasphemous and heretical material and represented the main obstacle to Jewish conversion to Christianity.⁹ In his view, this was why all Jewish books should be confiscated, examined and destroyed if necessary.

Pfefferkorn's battle against Jewish literature proceeded in several stages and involved a good number of prominent people, including the Emperor, the Archbishop of Mainz, the papal inquisitor Jakob von Hoogstraeten, theologians from several German universities and individual experts, among whom was Pfefferkorn's main opponent, Johann Reuchlin, the famous German jurist, scholar and Hebraist (1455–1522). In Reuchlin's *Gutachten* ('expert opinion'), which served as the basis of his book *Augenspiegel* (*Eye Glasses*), published in 1511, the scholar formulated a legal and theological defence of Jewish writings. He argued that Jewish books posed no threat to Christianity, and emphasised their benefits for Christian scholarship.¹⁰ This was the first in a line of publications stemming from the particular question of the Jews' right to keep their own books, which grew into a humanist/scholastic confrontation and eventually caused Reuchlin to face a trial on the grounds of 'heresy' (1514).¹¹ Another effect of this famous book controversy, as noted by Jerome Friedman, was to bring the question of Hebrew books to the forefront of humanist attention and thereby to promote the study and publication of Hebraica by Christians.¹² While the Reuchlin affair stimulated an increase in the production of Christian Hebraica, it nonetheless appears that the affair itself only happened because of the pre-existing Christian fascination with Hebrew books.

As for the actual fate of Jewish books, Pfefferkorn succeeded in confiscating around 1,500 volumes from synagogues and private holdings in Frankfurt am Main, Worms and smaller Jewish communities in the Rhineland area before his campaign came to an end.¹³ The confiscation was supposed to be carried out in accordance with a list of wanted books compiled by Pfefferkorn, but in reality he also seized books that were not on his list at all.¹⁴ The list included prayer books (*siddurim*, *maḥzorim* and *seliḥot*), two polemical anti-Christian works, *Sefer Niṣṣaḥon* (*The Book of Victory*) and *Toledot Yeshu* (*The History of Jesus*), of which he found no copies, Talmudic tractates and commentaries, works of bib-

⁹ Rummel 2002, vii–viii.

¹⁰ O'Callaghan 2012, 105–197.

¹¹ Overfield 1984, 247–297.

¹² Friedman 1983, 25–26.

¹³ Shamir 2011, 111.

¹⁴ Shamir 2011, 41–43; cf. Leicht 2010, 52–55.

lical exegesis, *minhagim* and halakhic literature.¹⁵ Pfefferkorn's list of wanted books has not survived, unfortunately, but a similar list was published by him in a tract called *Zu lob und ere...* [Pfefferkorn 1510, fol. A viiir].¹⁶ Some central works of Jewish literature were omitted, however – of the thirty-seven tractates of the Babylonian Talmud, for instance, he only included thirteen in his list, which were found to contain blasphemous sections mentioned by earlier Christian authors. Hence, their selection by Pfefferkorn depended on his knowledge of Christian anti-Talmudic literature rather than of Jewish tradition.¹⁷ Ultimately, after several waves of confiscations, the books were returned to their Jewish owners (in less than a month, in fact). However, one may presume that some volumes remained in Christian hands, thus opening or maintaining a channel for the preservation of Hebrew books by Christians.

About two decades earlier, a group of forty-three Hebrew manuscripts had been confiscated in Regensburg. This confiscation was possibly related to the accusation that local Jews had conspired with those of Trent to perform the ritual murder of a child called Simon (1475), as a result of which a number of Regensburg Jews were imprisoned. However, no direct links between the imprisonment and this particular confiscation are found in the sources;¹⁸ some books were mentioned among the confiscated property of the imprisoned Jews of Regensburg, albeit without their titles.¹⁹

Under these circumstances, the confiscation focused mainly on Jewish liturgy, the Talmud and Talmudic commentaries. The confiscated group of texts represents a thematic collection from different sources (some texts appearing more than once) rather than the library of any one person: it included three copies of the *Berakhot* tractate from *Seder Zera'im* (*Seeds*), the *Shabbat*, *'Eruvin*, *Pesaḥim* tractates, two copies of *Rosh ha-Shana* tractate and the *Sukka* and *Megilla* tractates from *Seder Mo'ed* (*Festival*) as well as some associated commentaries, *Seder Nashim* (*Women*) and its tractates *Ketubot*, *Gittin* and *Qiddushin* along with commentaries on them, *Baba Meṣia*, *Sanhedrin*, *Makkot*, *Shevu'ot* and *Horayot* from *Seder Neziqin* (*Damages*), some of which were only represented by their commentaries, *Seder Qodashim* (*Holy Things*) and its tractate *Hulin*, three copies of the *Nidda* tractate from *Seder Tohorot* (*Purities*), a *maḥzor* for Rosh ha-Shana, Yom

¹⁵ Kirn 1989, 104–105.

¹⁶ For more details about the list of confiscated books, see Kracauer 1900, 320–332, 423–430 and 455–460; Shamir 2011, 109–111.

¹⁷ Shamir 2011, 46–47.

¹⁸ Ocker 2006, 48–49.

¹⁹ See Volkert 1982, 115–141.

Kippur and Sukkot, a *siddur*, a register to supplement the Pentateuch, and an unspecified miscellany.²⁰ It is worth noting that nine of the thirteen Talmudic tractates named in Pfefferkorn's list of wanted books appear here. This suggests that the confiscation was guided by principles similar to Pfefferkorn's and that these principles were certainly not his own invention.²¹

After this confiscation was carried out, the manuscripts that had been taken passed into the hands of Duke Albrecht of Bavaria-Munich. Through the intermediacy of a Dominican monk called Peter Schwarz, alias Petrus Nigri (c. 1435–83), who preached in Regensburg in this very period (1474/5),²² they were donated to the Dominican Abbey in Regensburg in 1476 where Petrus's brother Johannes Nigri was serving as prior.²³ The manuscripts were donated to the Abbey on condition they would not be sold, but only exchanged for other valuable Jewish writings if need be. Two Hebrew manuscripts – a lexicon on the Talmud based on the *Arukh* by Natan ben Yehi'el and commentaries on the Prophets (BSB, Chm 390 and 391 respectively), which derive from the Regensburg Dominican Abbey, but do not appear in Nigri's list – might be a result of such an exchange carried out by the monks after 1476.²⁴ The role of Petrus Nigri in this affair was not limited to intermediacy alone, however; he also acted as an adviser in all matters connected with Hebrew manuscripts. Thanks to his mastery of the Hebrew language, Nigri was initially called upon by the duke to assist in the manuscripts' valuation. Nigri, in turn, was assisted by an otherwise unknown Jew by the name of David of Eichstätt, who estimated the price of the manuscripts at thirty guldens, a sum that hardly anyone would have been able to pay.²⁵ As in the case of the acquisition of Hebrew books by Christians, Jewish assistance and expertise were also necessary here, even if the Christian purchaser/intermediary was familiar with the Hebrew language.²⁶ Although it is unlikely, some scholars even presume that David of Eichstätt was the original owner of the confiscated collection.²⁷

As was mentioned previously, most of the manuscripts in the donated group contained tractates from the Talmud, which according to Nigri was a cursed book and should be burnt (Nigri 1477, fol. [309r]). In reality, however, as follows from this episode, they were considered to be extremely valuable and of great import-

²⁰ Walde 1916, 82.

²¹ Shamir 2011, 109.

²² Ocker 2006, 46–47.

²³ Walde 1916, 74–82; Ineichen-Eder 1977, 459–462.

²⁴ Cf. Perles 1884, 20–21 and 76ff.

²⁵ Walde 1916, 81.

²⁶ See Burnett 2009, 173–188.

²⁷ Cf. Yuval 1988, 305–306.

ance in anti-Jewish polemics, hence they had to be preserved by Christians. If expulsions provided Christian libraries with a range of Hebrew biblical and liturgical books, in the case of confiscations specifically focused on allegedly blasphemous literature, the texts that passed into Christian hands were mainly of this sort (although not exclusively). Different ways of obtaining Hebrew books led to different results, and the means of the Hebrew books' acquisition consequently had direct implications for the scope and character of Christian Hebrew book collections. It appears, then, that around 1500, Hebrew books often were not obtained directly from Jews, but from other Christians who were not always knowledgeable in Hebrew, but had nonetheless received them as a result of the confiscations and expulsions. Once Hebrew books passed into Christian hands, they were re-used, depending on their condition, or else re-sold, exchanged or given to other Christians as gifts. Such books were rarely returned to Jews later. Many of these Christian acquisitions were rather occasional and depended greatly on books' availability in the collectors' immediate environments, which increased with confiscations and expulsions, creating an important channel for the preservation of Hebrew books in Christian libraries.

Unlike the Jewish books that ended up in Christian hands as a result of persecutions, in the case of Hebraist scholars who could read Hebrew, had contact with converts from Judaism and knew Jews ready to co-operate with Christians, the acquisitions were by no means haphazard. These men looked out for specific titles known to them from earlier Christian and Jewish sources and were able to acquire them with the help of Jewish intermediaries. Even so, such collections north of the Alps were not particularly rich in their choice of texts and were extremely limited in number. One of the largest private Hebraica collections around 1500, which was rather exceptional for the period, was kept in Johann Reuchlin's library. It contained around fifty volumes of manuscripts and printed books of nearly all genres of Jewish literature.²⁸ One of Reuchlin's first Hebrew codices was a lexicon based on the *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem ben Saruq (BSB, Chm 425, fols 136r–167v) copied for him in 1486 by an otherwise unknown but apparently learned German Jew named Calman, with whom Reuchlin began to learn Hebrew in the 1480s.²⁹ In the following years, Reuchlin continued his Hebrew studies under the guidance of two Jewish scholars of Italian origin, Ya'aqov Loans (Jacob ben Jechiel), son of Yeḥi'el Loans (died c. 1506), the private physician of Emperor Friedrich III, and the biblical commentator 'Ovadya (Ovadia), son of Ya'aqov Sforza (c. 1475–1550). Apparently, both men also served as mediators,

²⁸ Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 17–19.

²⁹ Campanini 1999, 75.

acquiring books for his library of Hebraica.³⁰ Many of Reuchlin's Hebrew books were therefore obtained in Italy.³¹ South of the Alps, 'semi-neutral' encounters³² between Jews and Christians could take place due to scholarly Jewish humanists such as Ya'aqov Loans, 'Ovadya Sforno and others who were trained in Western philosophy and sciences, giving them a common basis for contact with Christian humanists.

The 'high' number of Hebrew books in Reuchlin's library was, then, a result of his direct contacts with Jews, converts and other Hebraists in Italian- and German-speaking areas connections that other humanists could not always boast of having. The situation was quite different in the German-speaking lands.³³ Judging by what has been preserved or mentioned in related sources, German private collections of Hebraica only included a small number of Hebrew codices. Due to the fragmentary character of such collections from the pre-Reformation German milieu, it is hardly possible to spot any clear patterns of Hebrew book collecting at that time. Some particular features and fields of interest can be highlighted, however. In the period in question, Hebrew texts were not being printed north of the Alps yet. In Italy, by contrast, editions printed by Jews for Jewish use already existed, and some of these made their way north to German-speaking areas. As Reuchlin asserted in the introduction to his Hebrew grammar *Rudimenta linguae hebraicae* (*Rudiments of the Hebrew Language*) published in 1506, one could easily purchase Hebrew Bibles printed in Italy at low cost (Reuchlin 1506, 1). The only Hebrew printed edition in Schedel's collection was also of Italian provenance: the Hebrew Bible published by Gershom Soncino in Brescia in 1494 (BSB, Inc.c.a. 181; GW 4200).³⁴ Following Soncino's first edition of 1488, it was one of the earliest editions of the complete Hebrew Bible in octavo, printed in one column with no Targum or commentaries. Schedel acquired it around 1501.³⁵ One of Soncino's editions was also purchased by the Swiss Hebraist Conrad Pellican (Konrad Pellikan; 1478–1556) in Tübingen in 1500, a scholar who in turn described his endeavours to obtain Hebrew books in his *Chronikon*³⁶, and by Martin Luther in 1515.³⁷ Around this time (1515), the number of Hebrew printed books that Christians could purchase increased considerably thanks to the enormous amplitude of Venetian printing presses (especially Daniel

³⁰ Burnett 2009, 182.

³¹ Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 24–25.

³² This term is used in Burnett 2012a, 24.

³³ Burnett 2009, 173–88.

³⁴ Haberman 1932, 45.

³⁵ Steimann 2014, 46.

³⁶ Riggensbach 1877, 16–20; Ahrens 1996 (Diss. Columbia Univ. 1950).

³⁷ Mackert 2014, 70–78.

Bomberg's); the production of works printed in Hebrew then began to spread in the German-speaking milieu as well.³⁸ One of such editions, a Hebrew Pentateuch with a Targum and Rashi's commentaries, for instance, was given to Pellican in Nuremberg in 1515 by the abbottess of St Clara, Charitas Pirkheimer.³⁹

Before printed editions of the Hebrew Bible appeared on the European market, biblical texts, which were in high demand in humanist circles, circulated among Christians in manuscript versions. The famous library of the cardinal and philosopher Nicholas of Kues (1401–1464), for example, contained a Hebrew biblical codex.⁴⁰ The Dominican Sifrid Piscatoris (d. in 1473) was in possession of a Hebrew manuscript of the Prophets (Mainz SB, Hs I 378), while the scholar and artist Winand von Steeg (1371–1453) owned four copies of the Old Testament and five Pentateuchs (Trithemius 1495, fol. 42v).⁴¹ The Bishop of Brandenburg, Stephan Bodecker (1384–1459), possessed an Ashkenazic Hebrew Bible in three volumes and a manuscript of the Prophets and Hagiographa (SBB, Ms. or. fols 5–7 and 123 respectively).⁴² Three biblical manuscripts were included in the aforementioned collection belonging to Hartmann Schedel (BSB, Chm 14, 16 and 298). Reuchlin, for his part, owned a number of biblical manuscripts,⁴³ among which was a luxurious Ashkenazic Bible with a Targum and *masora* given to him as a gift in 1492 by Emperor Friedrich III.⁴⁴

Important evidence of the preservation and careful treatment of Hebrew biblical texts by Christians has survived in two Hebrew manuscripts copied, proof-read and annotated between c. 1495 and 1520 by a monk known as Johannes of Grafing from the St Sebastian Benedictine monastery in Ebersberg (d. after 1519) (BSB, Chm 400 and 401). On the first folio of BSB, Chm 401, Johannes identified himself as 'Yoḥanan bar Shim'on ha-Moshiaḥ [the anointed]'. His Hebrew name and his indication of himself as being 'anointed', apparently during the baptismal ceremony, suggest that Johannes was a convert from Judaism. His impressive fluency in Hebrew and his familiarity with Jewish scribal practices are not surprising, given his Jewish origin. Unlike other parts of these two manuscripts, the first codicological unit of BSB, Chm 401 containing the Psalter (fols 1^a–111r) was not copied by Johannes, but by a Jewish scribe called Yeda'ya Shni'or, as can be gathered from his script, which differs from Johannes's own hand, and from the

³⁸ See also Burnett 2012b, 63–84.

³⁹ Riggenbach 1877, 52.

⁴⁰ Kraus 1865, 99.

⁴¹ Walde 1916, 64–69.

⁴² Walde 1916, 33–35.

⁴³ Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 89–97, 183–198.

⁴⁴ Campanini 1999, 77–79.

colophon at the end of it (fol. 111r). The Psalter was originally copied by a Jew for Jewish use, but was incorporated into Johannes's compilation later. Although Johannes indicated the date of the Psalter's completion as 1463 (fol. 111r), suggesting that he was informed about its original production, he did not receive this Psalter from its original scribe; the Psalter passed into Johannes's hands from another Hebraist after the latter had annotated it in Latin in the margins, mostly in vermillion ink. Johannes added his own Latin annotations to this along with the psalm's interlinear Latin translation in brown ink around 1513 (this date appears on fol. 111r).

Not only did Johannes elucidate the Psalter's contents in Latin, but he collated and then corrected the text of his Psalter in accordance with another Hebrew Psalter, Ms. Georg. 192, now kept at the University and State Library of Saxony-Anhalt in Dessau (ULB). Strong evidence of Johannes's use of the Dessau Psalter is found on its first folio (fol. 1r), which contains ownership notes, a list of psalms for each day of the week and a Midrashic fragment. He copied the names of the Dessau Psalter's owners, 'Shim'on bar Yuda' and 'Ya'aqov bar Shim'on', at the top of the first folio of his Psalter, after which he wrote his own name as well as the aforementioned textual fragments. The name of the vocaliser of the Dessau Psalter, Ya'aqov ha-Levi of Mainz (fol. 121r), was also added by Johannes in the outer margin at the end of his Psalter together with his own name, 'Johannes son of R. Shim'on of Grafing' (fol. 111r). By copying the names of the owners and the vocaliser and by recording his own name and the dates, Johannes thus preserved the pieces of information which did not pertain to the text itself, but indicated its particular copy. Such scrupulous treatment of the Hebrew text indicates Johannes's critical approach to his textual models and the editorial nature of copying, which reflect the direction taken by the humanist biblical scholarship of his time. The re-examination of biblical sources in their original language, which was one of the main reasons for humanist interest in the Hebrew language and Hebrew books, involved new methods of textual criticism leading to the search for a more accurate copy of the Hebrew Bible.

This kind of interactive approach to Hebrew texts was not reserved for the field of biblical studies alone; Hebrew grammar and lexicography, which were similarly popular among humanists and Hebraists as these subjects constituted the basis of any examination of Hebrew sources, were treated in a similar manner. Among all the works on Hebrew grammar by Jewish authors, it was the treatises by the 12th-century Provençal biblical commentators and grammarians David and Moshe Qimḥi that gained the widest popularity in Hebraist circles.⁴⁵ Johannes Reuchlin,

⁴⁵ Cohen 2000, 395–414; Price 2010, 68.

for instance, apparently owned a handwritten exemplar of Moshe Qimḥi's grammatical work *Mahalakh Shevile ha-Da'at* (*The Journey on the Paths of Knowledge*) as early as the end of the 15th century and used it in his *Rudimenta* (1506).⁴⁶ This exemplar was supposedly borrowed by Pellican, who copied it and then returned it to Reuchlin in 1500. In his account of this episode, Pellican reported that the manuscript served as a basis for a German translation of the work, which was carried out by a Jew (Reuchlin's Hebrew tutor Calman, perhaps?), who also translated some texts for Johann Böhm, the priest and cantor from Ulm (1485–1533/5).⁴⁷ Böhm also possessed some other grammatical and lexical works in Hebrew (e.g. BSB, Chm 204),⁴⁸ which were used by Pellican when he visited Böhm in Ulm in 1500.⁴⁹ It is also possible that once Pellican returned the manuscript to Reuchlin, the latter sent it along with its German translation to a frater called Crismann in 1501 to assist him in his own Hebrew studies.⁵⁰ Another copy of the same work in Reuchlin's possession was a printed edition of it, probably originating from Soncino's press (1508). It was referred to in the earlier catalogues of Reuchlin's *Hebraica*,⁵¹ but was lost during the Second World War (formerly BLB Bc 69).⁵²

Thanks to Reuchlin, *Mahalakh Shevile ha-Da'at* was highly esteemed by Christians who wished to learn biblical Hebrew and was widely disseminated in Reuchlin's scholarly environment. Around the same time as Pellican copied Reuchlin's copy of Qimḥi's work, Johannes of Graefing included it in his composite manuscript (BSB, Chm 401, fols 227r–244r). The dates of 1501 (*Apollonaris*) and 1509 (*Misericordia Domini*) concluding the treatise (fol. 244r) possibly denote the beginning and end of the copying.⁵³ In this case, *Mahalakh Shevile ha-Da'at* was written in two columns, the Hebrew text in the right-hand column and its German translation in the left-hand one. This fact may indicate that Johannes of Graefing's copy reflects – albeit only indirectly – Reuchlin's handwritten exemplar of the same work, which, as mentioned above, was translated into German around the

⁴⁶ Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 53–54.

⁴⁷ Riggensbach 1877, 22; von Abel/Leicht 2005, 53.

⁴⁸ See Walde 1916, 190–194.

⁴⁹ Riggensbach 1877, 19.

⁵⁰ Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 54; cf. Dall'Asta/Dörner/Rhein 2000, 350.

⁵¹ Christ 1924, 41–42.

⁵² See von Abel/Leicht 2005, 53–55 and 232–234; see also the contribution by Reimund Leicht in this volume.

⁵³ Walde 1916, 195–196.

same time.⁵⁴ Such a transmission of Reuchlin's version of Qimḥi's work is highly likely due to Johannes's personal connection to Reuchlin.⁵⁵

On the other hand, another German translation that differs from the one done by Johannes of Grafting accompanies the exemplar of *Mahalakh Shevile ha-Da'at* copied by the Hebraist Kilian Leib (1471–1553) (SBB Or. oct. 148, fols 25r–120v).⁵⁶ Its Hebrew version requires further collation with Johannes's copy. As in the case of Johannes's manuscript, the Hebrew and German texts appear side by side in two columns in Leib's codex. In his colophon, which lacks a date, unfortunately (fol. 120v), Leib stated that he was 'brother Kilian Leib', suggesting that the manuscript was copied by him sometime before 1499 when he was appointed prior of Rebdorf Monastery.⁵⁷ Translating Qimḥi's Hebrew text into German seems to have been an integral part of its Christian production. Since grammatical treatises of this kind played a practical role, their translation into the language spoken by their non-Jewish users was necessary, especially in the case of Christians who did not have any previous knowledge of Hebrew.

An interlinear translation of *Mahalakh Shevile ha-Da'at*, this time into Latin, also appears in a manuscript from the collection belonging to Caspar Amman (c. 1450–1524), prior of the Augustinian hermit monastery in Lauingen (BSB, Chm 426, fols 1r–36v). This translation and the copying of the original Hebrew text in this codex were apparently carried out by Amman himself around 1511–1513 in connection with his own Hebrew studies, which he began c. 1505.⁵⁸ In addition to Qimḥi's work, the manuscript includes other grammatical treatises and excerpts by Jewish and Christian authors copied by Amman.⁵⁹

This codex belongs to a group of nine Hebrew manuscripts from Amman's library dedicated mainly to Hebrew grammar and lexicography (Bern Burg., A 198; BSB, Chm 424 [in BSB, Clm 28233] – Chm 427; Gottweig SB, 10–11; UB, 4^o Cod. ms. 757 and 759). One of the lexicological works on Hebrew that Amman possessed is the aforementioned lexicon based on the *Maḥberet* by Menaḥem ben Saruq, which was copied for Reuchlin by his Hebrew tutor, Calman, in 1486 and ended up being bound into Amman's Hebrew volume (BSB, Chm 425, fols 136r–167v).⁶⁰ Another codex in this group was copied for Amman by Johannes Böschenstein

⁵⁴ Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 55.

⁵⁵ See Knauer 1996, 32ff; Knauer 2012, 9 and 78–80.

⁵⁶ See Keller 1994, 195–203.

⁵⁷ Keller 1994, 198.

⁵⁸ Avenary 1975, 134.

⁵⁹ On its contents, see Striedl/Róth 1965, 237–241.

⁶⁰ Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 177–182.

(BSB Chm 72 and 427, fols 132v–134v), who was employed as Amman's Hebrew tutor.⁶¹

In 1521, Böschenstein provided similar guidance in the Hebrew language through another exemplar of *Mahalakh Shevile ha-Da'at* copied by the theologian Johann Eck (1486–1543) (BSB, Clm 11602, fols 2r–36r [135v–169v]; evidence of Eck's Hebrew studies is also preserved in UB, 4^o Cod. mss. 800 and 827). This copy of *Mahalakh Shevile ha-Da'at* was included in the volume containing an index for Reuchlin's *Rudimenta*, which Eck compiled in the monastery of Polling where he fled from the plague raging in Ingolstadt.⁶² In addition to Eck's interlinear translation of Qimḥi's work into Latin, Böschenstein wrote down his own translation on the last few leaves of the treatise and signed his name at the end of it (fol. 36r). Böschenstein's additions to Eck's codex suggest that he possibly interpreted Qimḥi's work for Eck after the latter produced his own copy of it. A year earlier, in 1520, Böschenstein had printed his own version of *Mahalakh Shevile ha-Da'at* (in Augsburg), but a comparison has shown that this did not serve as a direct model for Eck's manuscript. In the same year, Qimḥi's work was also published by Gilles de Gourmont in Paris and by Thomas Anshelm in Hagenau in 1519. The latter edition served as a basis for Eck's extracts on Hebrew grammar found in the same codex (BSB, Clm 11602; see Eck's Latin note on fol. 170r). As a result of these publications, *Mahalakh Shevile ha-Da'at* came to occupy a firm place in the Christian tradition of writing Hebrew grammars.

Although it is not yet possible to establish the precise interrelations between different copies of Qimḥi's grammatical text in Christian book collections at this stage of my research, what is obvious is that the aforementioned circle of German civic and monastic humanists and Hebraists such as Böschenstein, Amman, Johannes of Graßing, Eck, Leib, Pellican, Böhm and Schedel all shared a common interest in the Hebrew language and Jewish literature and created a scholarly network. They were connected to each other via private contacts and correspondence, sent their literary works to each other and lent books to one another. Hebrew books circulating in these circles led, in turn, to the creation of a kind of a 'canon' of Hebrew and Hebrew-related texts and authors used by Christians, which eventually shaped Christian conceptions of Jewish literature. Due to their innate mastery of Hebrew, it was natural for converts from Judaism to play the main role as transmitters of knowledge during this process. The figure of Johannes Reuchlin, whose Hebraica collection was widely used by other Heb-

⁶¹ Wagner 1895, 47–48.

⁶² See Eck's note on fol. 46r; Perles 1884, 212.

raists, was behind all these attempts to produce ‘Christian’ Hebrew codices – he acted as a kind of ultimate referee in such matters.

Thanks to Reuchlin, German Hebraists not only took an interest in the Hebrew Bible and works on Hebrew grammar and lexicography, but in works on Jewish mysticism, philosophy and other subjects as well. These were subsequently included in numerous Christian libraries. This was especially true with regard to the Kabbala, which was considered a source of esoteric knowledge universal to Judaism and Christianity and was believed to prove basic Christian doctrines.

Although he hardly had any command of the Hebrew language, another scholar from Reuchlin’s circles, Johann von Dalberg, the Bishop of Worms (1455–1503) was highly interested in Jewish literature and mysticism, for instance. His Hebrew books have now been lost, but we still know about them from his correspondence with Reuchlin.⁶³ Dalberg gave some of the manuscripts from his library to Reuchlin, including the polemical anti-Christian work *Sefer Niṣṣaḥon*.⁶⁴ In 1495, Reuchlin received another 15th-century Ashkenazic manuscript from Dalberg called *Ginnat Egoz* (*The Nut Orchard*), a Kabbalistic work by Joseph Gikatilla (BL, Ms. Add. 11416 = or. 740).⁶⁵ Upon acquiring it, Reuchlin inscribed it with an ownership note of his own, stating that Dalberg had obtained the codex with the greatest effort (*summa conatu*) from a rabbi from Worms (fol. 206r). Although it is uncertain whether Dalberg himself was actively involved in Kabbalistic studies, he obviously supported Reuchlin in the latter’s devotion to Hebrew and the Kabbala.⁶⁶

In his search for Kabbalistic works, Reuchlin also sought assistance from Jews. In response to his request for books on the Kabbala, the Rabbi of Regensburg, Ya‘aqov Margolioth, wrote to Reuchlin c. 1493–1496, saying that such books were not available for purchase in his city.⁶⁷ Keeping in mind that Kabbalistic treatises existed in Ashkenaz in that period,⁶⁸ it is not clear whether this answer reflected the actual situation in Regensburg or if Margolioth was just showing circumspection; in the case of Kabbalistic literature, such caution would have been more than appropriate as it was strictly forbidden for Jewish mystical tradition to be passed on to non-Jews.⁶⁹

Due to the obvious reluctance on the part of Ashkenazic Jews to share secret Jewish knowledge with non-Jews, the scope of Kabbalistic texts to which Chris-

⁶³ Walde 1916, 184.

⁶⁴ Dall’Asta/Dörner/Rhein 2000, 220; von Abel/Leicht 2005, 207–214.

⁶⁵ Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 147.

⁶⁶ Walter 2005, 112.

⁶⁷ Dall’Asta/Dörner/Rhein 2000, 192–195.

⁶⁸ Yuval 1988, 302ff.

⁶⁹ Cf. Kaufmann 1897, 500–508.

tians were exposed was apparently limited at that time. The same titles of Kabbalistic works circulated among Hebraists, setting out their priorities with regard to book acquisitions. Following Reuchlin's example, for instance, the Hebraists in his circle took a great interest in *Ginnat Egoz*. Its contents were considered to be extremely valuable by Caspar Amman, who therefore wished to examine it, as expressed by R. Rafa'el of Hagenau in the recommendation he sent to the Jewish scholar and cantor R. Naftali Hirš Treves [of Worms] on Amman's behalf (BSB, Chm 426, fol. 190v)⁷⁰. This letter was written on an uncertain date, but shortly afterwards, apparently, Amman established his personal connections with Naftali Hirš. In a letter that the latter sent to Amman, Hirš mentioned that he had provided Amman with some books, but these did not include any Kabbalistic works (BSB, Chm 426, fols 196v–197r [another copy is in UB, 4^o Cod. ms. 827, fol. 48r])⁷¹.

While Kabbalistic texts were adapted by humanists to support their own beliefs, Christian interest in Hebrew liturgical manuscripts took another turn around 1500. Referring to the former status of Jewish literature on liturgy, rites and customs among Christians, Reuchlin stated in his *Gutachten* (1511):⁷²

Weiter von iren predig büchern unnd disputations auch brevır, gesanng büchern ordnung irer cerimonien, sitten und andacht. Was sollich reden annders dann die loblichen keyser unnd geistlichen bapste dar von geredt unnd gesetzt haben, das mann sie inn iren Synagogen, cerimonien, ritus, gewonhaitten, sitten und an dachten rüwigklichen soll beleiben lassen, besunder wan sie uns nit wider recht thündt, unnd unsere cristenliche kirchen offentlich nitt verachten. Dann die cristenlich kirch hat sunst nichtz mit inen zů schaffen, ausserhalb der neun stucken so die glos anzaigt.

Furthermore, what shall I say to their books on preaching and disputations, to their breviaries and songbooks, to their books on liturgy, on their customs and devotions, other than repeat what has already been said and decreed by the praiseworthy emperors and their holinesses, the popes, namely: That nobody shall interfere with their synagogues, ceremonies, rites, habits, customs, and devotions, particularly when they do not transgress our laws nor publicly deride our Christian Church. Other than this the Christian Church has no truck with them, except for the nine parts listed in the glosses.⁷³

Although the conditional phrase 'when they do not transgress... nor deride...' renders the meaning of Reuchlin's formulation somewhat evasive by suggesting that Jews do transgress or deride in certain cases, the general tenor of his conclusion regarding Jewish liturgy and rites is to regard them as internal Jewish affairs

⁷⁰ Zimmer 1980, 84–85.

⁷¹ Zimmer 1980, 85–86.

⁷² Reuchlin 1511, fol. XIIIr.

⁷³ Translated in O'Callaghan 2012, 176.

in which Christians do not need to interfere. On the other hand, written in response to Pfefferkorn's accusations of the blasphemous nature of Jewish liturgical texts, Reuchlin's *Gutachten* pursued the goal of protecting Hebrew books from destruction and therefore can hardly be taken as reflecting any actual Christian conceptions of Jewish liturgy around 1500.

In contrast to Reuchlin's opinion, one of the earliest of Pfefferkorn's tracts on Jewish slurs against Christianity, *Ich bin ain buchlein. der Juden veindt ist mein namen* ('I am a Booklet. The Jews' Enemy is my Name') published by him in 1509 before the actual controversy over Jewish books broke out, considers Jewish liturgy no less harmful and offensive than the Talmud.⁷⁴ He wrote, for instance, that the words 'Zu den getaufften ist kain hoffnung und alle unglaubigen sollen schnelliglich vergon und alle die find deines volckes Israhel undertruckt und verdilgt werden das geschech bald' ('There is no hope for the baptised, and all infidels will soon be gone and all the enemies of your people Israel will be suppressed and destroyed. This will happen soon') from a Jewish prayer recited three times a day (the *'Amida*) designated the baptised as infidels and expressed the hope that the Christian Church and the Holy Roman Empire would collapse.⁷⁵ These and similar references by Pfefferkorn to Jewish prayer and rites, intended to ridicule them and stress their anti-Christian elements, depicted Jewish liturgy as being deliberately hostile to Christianity.

Converts from Judaism were not the only vehicles of transmission in this process of Christian insight into Jewish liturgy and ceremonies, however – Hebrew books also played an important role in it. For example, the Hebrew book emerges from the protocols of the aforementioned trial on the ritual murder of the child called Simon in Trent (1475) as a full 'participant' in the murder and a significant 'witness' of it. In several instances, the *podestà* demanded imprisoned Jews to indicate words and expressions of malediction in Hebrew as well as those related to blood in the Passover Haggada. An interrogated Jewish woman named Anna was asked to identify the curses uttered against Egyptians in the Haggada, which were immediately copied down in Hebrew in the record of the trial and then translated into Latin.⁷⁶ It is interesting to note that in a folk poem from 1475 that was dedicated to Simon, the author stated that the Jews read from a book from the Talmud called '*Agoyin*', after the boy's murder.⁷⁷ In these and other

⁷⁴ Kirn 1989, 46–54.

⁷⁵ Pfefferkorn 1509, fol. [127r]; trans. in Rummel 2002, 55. See also Carlebach 2001, 26–28.

⁷⁶ Eposito/Quaglioni 1990, 51.

⁷⁷ Liliencron 1866, 16. Although such a tractate does not actually exist in the Talmud and he probably meant the word '*ha-goyim*', i.e. the Gentiles, which is also not the name of a Talmudic

instances of using the original Hebrew text of the Haggada, the actual manuscript of the Haggada was probably confiscated from Jews by the magistrates.⁷⁸

Use of the Haggada as the primary source of information on Jewish liturgy and rites leads us to another example closely related to the Trent trial. This concerns an illuminated Haggada manuscript copied in the Passau area in the third quarter of the 15th century by Yosef son of Efrayim (BSB, Chm 200). The manuscript came into the possession of Paulus Wann of Kemnath, a preacher at the Cathedral of Passau, probably after the Jews were expelled from Passau in 1478 as a result of an accusation of host desecration. In 1489, Wann donated the manuscript to the Benedictine monastery in Tegernsee together with some non-Hebrew books.⁷⁹ A few years later, the librarian of the monastery library, Ambrosius Schwerzenbeck, sent the Haggada to Erhard of Pappenheim (d. 1497), a Dominican monk from Altenhohenau, along with a request to describe its contents.⁸⁰ Erhard, in turn, added annotations in the Haggada itself, mainly translating the first lines of its passages. He also wrote an introductory text, bound into a composite manuscript of religious tractates in Tegernsee (BSB, Clm 18526b, fols 190v–200r) and copied in 1493 by Schwerzenbeck in a quire added to the beginning of the Haggada (the first quire in BSB, Chm 200, fols 1–6, but to be read as ‘6–1’). As can be gathered from Schwerzenbeck’s note added to the quire of the composite manuscript (BSB, Clm 18526b, fol. 190r), he received Erhard’s text in 1492.⁸¹

Erhard’s introduction to the *Tegernsee Haggada* was primarily based on his knowledge of the Hebrew text of the Haggada, its included rituals and even their extended version in Yiddish (BSB, Chm 200, fol. 6v.)⁸². However, he did not rely on Jewish sources alone; on fol. 6r he stated that he had translated the Latin record of the Trent trial into German, and some of this material was included in his introduction as well.⁸³ For example, his references to use of the blood of Christian babies for making the principal cakes of unleavened bread (*mašot mišva*), to mixing such blood into the first cup of wine of the *seder* (Passover Eve ceremony) and to sprinkling the blood mixed into wine on the contents of the table whilst reciting the ten plagues inflicted on the Egyptians were obviously based

tractate, the notion of reading the Talmud as part of a ritual reflects the author’s confusion of Jewish liturgical texts with the Talmud.

⁷⁸ Hsia 1992, 63, n. 5.

⁷⁹ Aretin 1803, 64.

⁸⁰ Regarding Erhard’s identification, see Sicherl 1978, 78; Knauer 1996, 23–36; cf. Bischoff 1938, 613–618; Treue 1996, 223.

⁸¹ For more details, see Shalev-Eyni 2014, 18–19.

⁸² For a detailed discussion on its contents, see Stern 2014, 73–89.

⁸³ Stern 2014, 261, n. 51.

on the Trent protocols (BSB, Chm 200, fols 6r, 5v and 5r respectively). According to Erhard, the ritual performance of the *seder* was closely connected to its verbal aspects, thus emphasising a strict correspondence between certain actions and corresponding passages of the Haggada.

A reference to the process against the Jews of Trent, written in a similar spirit to that of Erhard, accompanies the Passover Haggada in Johannes of Grafing's aforementioned Hebrew codex (BSB, Chm 401, fol. 184r). Around 1519, when Johannes wrote his annotations to this unit of BSB, Chm 401, details of the Trent process were widely known due to a number of printed editions which described Simon's alleged ritual murder. But this particular reference to the confessions of the Jews of Trent was rather inspired by his acquaintance with Erhard's work. An actual relation between these two monks can be established through Johannes's Greek manuscripts. Erhard was not only a confessor at the nearby Dominican nunnery of Altenhohenau, but also participated in the copying of Johannes's Greek compilation, BSB, Cgrm 323 (fols 2r–20v, 97r–107r, 167r–268r *passim*).⁸⁴

Thus, if Christian preoccupation with the Hebrew Bible had a longstanding tradition before the rise of 15th-century Hebraism, Christian interest in Jewish liturgy and religious customs was a new phenomenon in this period. According to Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, this new interest departed from the narrow context of ritual murder accusations, especially that of Trent in 1475, and engendered the emergence of a new literary genre describing Jewish rites, customs and lifestyles for their own sake.⁸⁵ This is not the place to discuss Hsia's conclusions and their validity for general Christian attitude towards Jewish rites, but the trial in Trent undoubtedly had a great impact on Christian views of Jewish Passover customs and Jewish liturgical practices in general. As a result, Jewish books on liturgical contents were not perceived by Christians as neutral works or as internal Jewish affairs, but as being imbued with a definite anti-Christian aura. Christian interest in this sort of Jewish literature combined curiosity with regard to Jewish matters with anti-Jewish tendencies nourished by blood libels and other Jewish 'crimes' against Christianity.

If this is correct, then the very fact of the preservation of these 'blasphemous' books in Christian libraries requires further consideration. Hebraists and humanists – even those who did not have any command of the Hebrew language – shared an idea of preserving Hebrew books for the sake of humanist scholarship. The attitudes of the religious circles towards Jewish literature, on the other hand, were less homogenous. At one extreme were men like Pfefferkorn who stood

⁸⁴ Sicherl 1994, 75 and 77.

⁸⁵ Hsia 1994, 224; cf. Deutsch 2012, 178–179.

for the destruction of Hebrew books, while at the other, there were humanist-oriented ecclesiastic and monastic representatives (such as Johann von Dalberg) who, being interested in Jewish biblical scholarship and Jewish mysticism, made an effort to collect Hebrew books for their own monasteries. They were in favour, rather, of taking Hebrew books away from the Jews, but not destroying the works altogether. Even Petrus Nigri, whose negative evaluation of Hebrew books and their harmfulness is undoubted, was careful to preserve Hebrew manuscripts in the Dominican Abbey in Regensburg, being motivated by their potential value to anti-Jewish polemics.

Christians in this period attempted to physically disassociate Hebrew books from their Jewish owners and make these books serve their own needs, namely to foster anti-Jewish polemics and scholarship – the latter via Christian interpretation of Hebrew texts. The general tendency towards conceptual and practical disassociation of Jewish texts from the Jews was accompanied by a transition in the backgrounds of Hebrew tutors (as Jews were replaced by converts and Christians) and with the beginning of independent Christian production of Hebrew texts.⁸⁶ Both these developments minimised the necessity for Jewish co-operation and inaugurated a new era in the history of Hebrew books, breaking up the Jewish monopoly on Hebrew book production. Those works produced by Christians for Christians no longer belonged to ‘Jewish literature’ and were finally separated from the actual fate of the Jews. At this stage of the process of Christian appropriation of Jewish texts around 1500, Hebrew books still remained ambivalent objects, desired and yet dangerous at the same time.

Abbreviations

Bern Burg.	Burgerbibliothek of Berne
BL	London, British Library
BLB	Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe
BSB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Dessau ULB	Anhaltische Landesbücherei Dessau
Gottweig SB	Gottweig, Stiftsbibliothek
GW	<i>Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke</i> . 1925–2009
Electronic edition	http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/
Mainz SB	Mainz, Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek
SBB	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz
UB	Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Universitätsbibliothek

86 See also Carlebach 2001, 161; Burnett 2012a, 90–207.

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Reimund Leicht

Johannes Reuchlin's Collection of Hebrew Books – Its Afterlife and Influence

Abstract: This paper discusses the importance of Reuchlin's Hebrew book collection for Hebrew Studies in Germany (and beyond) and the scientific value of his manuscripts and early prints for Jewish Studies today. It will become clear that the items which are of particular interest are those that are known to have once been part of Reuchlin's library, but were removed and lost at some point in time – either lost completely through physical destruction or lost from the collection in Karlsruhe, but physically preserved at other locations. There seems to be a close correlation in most cases between the disappearance of books and manuscripts and the scholarly interest in these works.

In most of the fields in which Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) became famous (he was a Doctor of Law, humanist, lover of Greek literature, bibliophile and, last but not least, Hebraist and Kabbalist), he was not the first: he was not the first Christian scholar to learn the Hebrew language, nor was he the first to publish a Hebrew grammar book. Like Reuchlin, other Christians also knew that Jewish literature contained more than the Bible, the Talmud and anti-Christian polemics, and some of them had already revealed a strong interest in the teachings of Jewish mysticism, the Kabbala. For this reason, they collected Hebrew books and built up their own libraries. On the other hand, even if Reuchlin was not the first to deal with these issues, he *was* the one who raised Christian Hebraism and Christian Kabbala to a new level. He had an unusually good command of the Hebrew language, for one thing; no Hebrew grammar of the quality of Reuchlin's had appeared before 1506 when he published his *De Rudimentis Hebraicis*. In the famous dispute over Jewish books ('Bücherstreit') in which he was involved, he revealed his broad knowledge of the different branches and genres of Hebrew literature,¹ which went far beyond anything his Jewish and non-Jewish opponents and supporters had ever heard of; his *De Arte Cabalistica* published in

The present paper is based on research on Reuchlin's collection of Hebrew books published as *Verzeichnis der Hebraica in der Bibliothek Johannes Reuchlins*, von Abel/Leicht 2005. I am grateful for the opportunity to present a few aspects in greater detail, correct a few mistakes and add some information I was unaware of at the time of publication.

1 Cf. Leicht 2013a on Reuchlin's concept of Hebrew literature; cf als. Price 2011 and Shamir 2011.

1517 was effectively the first attempt to present a comprehensive introduction to the major teachings of Jewish mysticism. All this he was able to achieve because he possessed a collection of about forty to fifty Hebrew books – manuscripts and early prints – which formed a Christian Hebraist's library, to which nothing comparable existed north or south of the Alps. In other words, Johannes Reuchlin undoubtedly represented an important turning point in the history of Christian Hebraism and the study of Hebrew literature and Jewish thought.

However, there are also certain disadvantages to being a turning point and the first one in this sense: the long line of Christian Hebraists who followed Reuchlin soon overshadowed his achievements. For them it was much easier to study the Hebrew language at university level; they consulted and composed new books of Hebrew grammar, with the result that Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* soon lost their scholarly importance and were never reprinted. The great bibliographers of Hebrew literature in the 17th and 18th century such as Johann Christian Wolf (*Bibliotheca Hebraea*, Hamburg/Leipzig 1715–1733) had direct or indirect access to a much larger range of Hebrew literature, rendering Reuchlin's descriptions of Hebrew literature into little more than learned guesswork; much progress was made in the creation and development of Christian Kabbala (although his *De Arte Cabalistica* was one of the works that remained important). Lastly – and here we come to the main topic of this paper – Reuchlin's collection of around fifty Hebrew books, which he built up over the course of his lifetime, investing a considerable amount of energy and financial means in it, was no longer something that would have gained worldwide fame after book printing in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries meant that many of these Hebrew works were much more readily available than at the turn of the 16th century.

In other words, cultural changes and technological developments that started off during Reuchlin's lifetime and soon after his death created a profoundly different situation in respect to the study of the Hebrew language and Hebrew literature. This raises the question of how important Reuchlin's Hebraistic library actually was, historically speaking.

Reuchlin himself obviously valued it very highly. This finds its clearest expression in his last will, in which he decreed that his Greek and Hebrew books should not be sold, but remain accessible to scholars. After his death in 1522, they were thus to be transferred to the Collegiate Church of St Michael (*Stiftskirche*) in his hometown of Pforzheim. From there, most of the books were moved to the library of Margrave Charles II in Durlach in 1565, and later to Karlsruhe. Thirteen or fourteen manuscripts and nine early prints survived there until the eve of

World War II, when five of the printed books and one manuscript (or perhaps two, as we will see) were destroyed together with 95% of the library.²

But to come back to the question of how important Reuchlin's collection of Hebrew books actually was, we immediately find ourselves posing a second question, namely how do we evaluate the importance of a historical book collection? This is a difficult task from the outset, not least because 'important' is a highly ambiguous term. In the present case, there can be no doubt that Reuchlin's collection of Hebrew books had a considerable impact on his own intellectual development, but how important was it for subsequent generations of Christian Hebraists? And how important are the manuscripts in the eyes of modern and contemporary scholarship?

In this paper, I will concentrate on the second and third aspect, namely the importance of Reuchlin's Hebrew book collection for Hebrew Studies in Germany (and beyond) and the scientific value of his manuscripts and early prints for Jewish studies today. Perhaps paradoxically, it will turn out that I have to concentrate not so much on the manuscripts and books which are still preserved in the Baden State Library in Karlsruhe, but on those items which we know were once part of Reuchlin's library, but were removed and lost at some point in time – either lost completely through physical destruction or lost from the collection in Karlsruhe, but physically preserved at other locations. The reason for this seemingly paradoxical perspective is the following: it is fair to assume that the books and manuscripts which are still found in the Karlsruhe library are those which enjoyed less intellectual curiosity over the course of history, whereas the works which were removed from the library were those considered important enough to be 'taken away'. This is a slightly problematic assumption, of course, given that it is often purely coincidental historical circumstances which are responsible for the disappearance of certain items – such as the physical destruction caused in World War II – but as we will see, there seems to be a close correlation in most cases between the disappearance of books and manuscripts and the more or less well documented scholarly interest in these works.

Modern research is relatively well informed about the state of Reuchlin's Hebrew book collection at different points in history, giving us a pretty clear idea of what got lost and when. Most of the information presented in the following paragraphs can be found in more detail in the *Verzeichnis der Hebraica*, but in order to give a rough overview of the relevant sources, I would like to mention briefly that the most important sources of our knowledge of Reuchlin's library are naturally the manuscripts and books themselves. Sixteen of these are now

2 Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 64–69.

housed in Karlsruhe, while three more that have survived are kept in various other libraries. Six or seven books (one or two manuscripts and five printed books) were destroyed during World War II, but we know quite a lot about them thanks to catalogue descriptions and other publications.

In addition, we possess a list of titles belonging to Reuchlin's collection, which was probably composed sometime in the second half of the 16th century. This list is preserved in the Bibliotheca Palatina (Cod. Pal. lat. 1925), which is now part of the Vatican Apostolic Library. It originated in Heidelberg and presumably describes the books which were accessible to interested scholars either at the Collegiate Church of St Michael in Pforzheim or later at the margrave's residence in Durlach.³ Although it is not always easy to interpret the entries in the list, it is clear that nearly fifty volumes were still housed at their proper location at that time. However, this was the point at which the long history of losses started, as can be partly observed in later descriptions of Reuchlin's manuscripts found in works such as Johann Heinrich Mai's *Vita Jo. Reuchlini Phorcenis* (published in 1687), Benjamin Kennicott's *Dissertatio generalis in vetus testamentum Hebraicum* (1770), Valentin Molter's *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Litteratur: Aus einigen Handschriften der Markgräflisch Baadischen Bibliothek* (1798) and lastly in Samuel Landauer and Wilhelm Brambach's catalogue of manuscripts in Karlsruhe of the end of the 19th century.⁴

If we turn our attention to the different parts of Reuchlin's collection as reconstructed from the various sources mentioned above, we see that the losses are spread quite unevenly. As regards biblical manuscripts and early printed versions of the Bible, it is relatively difficult to identify the items in the booklist (in fact, we know about more Bibles than we would need for the book list), but it seems that there are no major losses to be recorded in this field – probably because the manuscripts were not very easy to remove (take the monumental Bible Cod. Reuchlin 1, for example), they were of less interest to scholars (Cod. Reuchlin 3, *Targum Yonatan*, for instance) or they became superfluous once printed editions of the Hebrew Bible were easily available. This by no means diminishes the scientific/scholarly relevance of some of these manuscripts for philological research today – especially the monumental Bible codex or the *Targum Yonatan* – but this apparently did not apply for early Christian Hebraists.

³ Cf. von Abel/Leicht 2005, 237–260.

⁴ On the earlier catalogue descriptions, see von Abel/Leicht 2005, 71–78. One can glean a considerable amount of information about Reuchlin's book collection from quotes taken from Hebrew texts found in his own books, although in many cases it is not clear whether he actually possessed a specific book, borrowed it or quoted from a secondary source; cf. von Abel/Leicht 2005, 30–58.



Fig. 1: Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, Cod. Reuchlin 3, Prophets, fol. 294r, beginning of Ezekiel. © Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe (urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-64884).

The same largely holds true for biblical commentaries: Reuchlin's library contained four such manuscripts in addition to four printed volumes. With the exception of one manuscript containing David Qimḥi's commentary on Isaiah, which was bound together with another manuscript of Yehuda ha-Levi's philosophical work *Sefer ha-Kuzari*, was removed from the collection and is now found in the State Library of Württemberg in Stuttgart (Stuttgart, Cod. or. 20 2), all of these items survived and remained in place until World War II. Only two biblical commentaries which were quoted by Reuchlin and may therefore have been in his

possession appear to be lost (they may have already been lost prior to the legacy and the composition of the book list, however): these are the Kabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch by Menaḥem Recanati and an early print of Gersonides' commentary on Daniel. In other words, biblical commentaries were not deemed attractive enough to be removed permanently from the collection.

The same can be said about the manuscripts and printed books on Hebrew grammar (one manuscript – Cod. Reuchlin 6 – which disappeared as late as the 20th century and two early prints), liturgical works (three manuscripts), books in Yiddish (three manuscripts – Cod. Reuchlin 8 (Fig. 2) and 9, and Munich, Cod. hebr. 425)⁵ and even a manuscript containing the Talmud tractate of Sanhedrin (Cod. Reuchlin 2; Fig. 3), which is still of prime importance for criticism of the text today, but apparently escaped the interest of Christian Hebraists – again probably because printed editions of the Talmud had become available by then.⁶

In which areas of scholarship did books and manuscripts get lost? Perhaps not surprisingly, the lost books belonged to the fields of Kabbala, anti-Christian polemics and philosophy.

Let us start with Kabbala. The disappearance of all the Kabbalistic manuscripts from the Karlsruhe collection is clearly a huge disadvantage for scholarship on Reuchlin since direct access to these manuscripts would have given us a much clearer picture of how Reuchlin prepared the material for writing his *opus magnum* – the *De Arte Cabalistica* of 1517. The book list testifies that by the second half of the 16th century, three Kabbalistic books and one item called *Haichudim* were still part of the library. We know from Reuchlin's quotations that these items were most probably manuscript copies of Joseph Gikatilla's works *Sha'are Ora*, *Sha'are Sedeq* and *Ginnat Egoz* and – as I have mentioned above – a manuscript of Menaḥem Recanati's commentary on the Pentateuch. Furthermore, as Gershom Scholem demonstrated decades ago,⁷ Reuchlin must have used (and possessed) a Kabbalistic *Miscellanea* manuscript which was very similar in content to another manuscript that still exists today: Ms. Halberstam 444, which is now housed in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.⁸

None of these books has remained in the Karlsruhe collection, but interestingly, the manuscript containing Gikatilla's *Ginnat Egoz* has survived and is

⁵ This was removed from the collection during Reuchlin's lifetime.

⁶ The book list contains two entries for such a tractate – one of them perhaps an early print which is now lost.

⁷ Scholem 1960, 284, n. 47.

⁸ Cf. von Abel/Leicht 2005, 35–38.

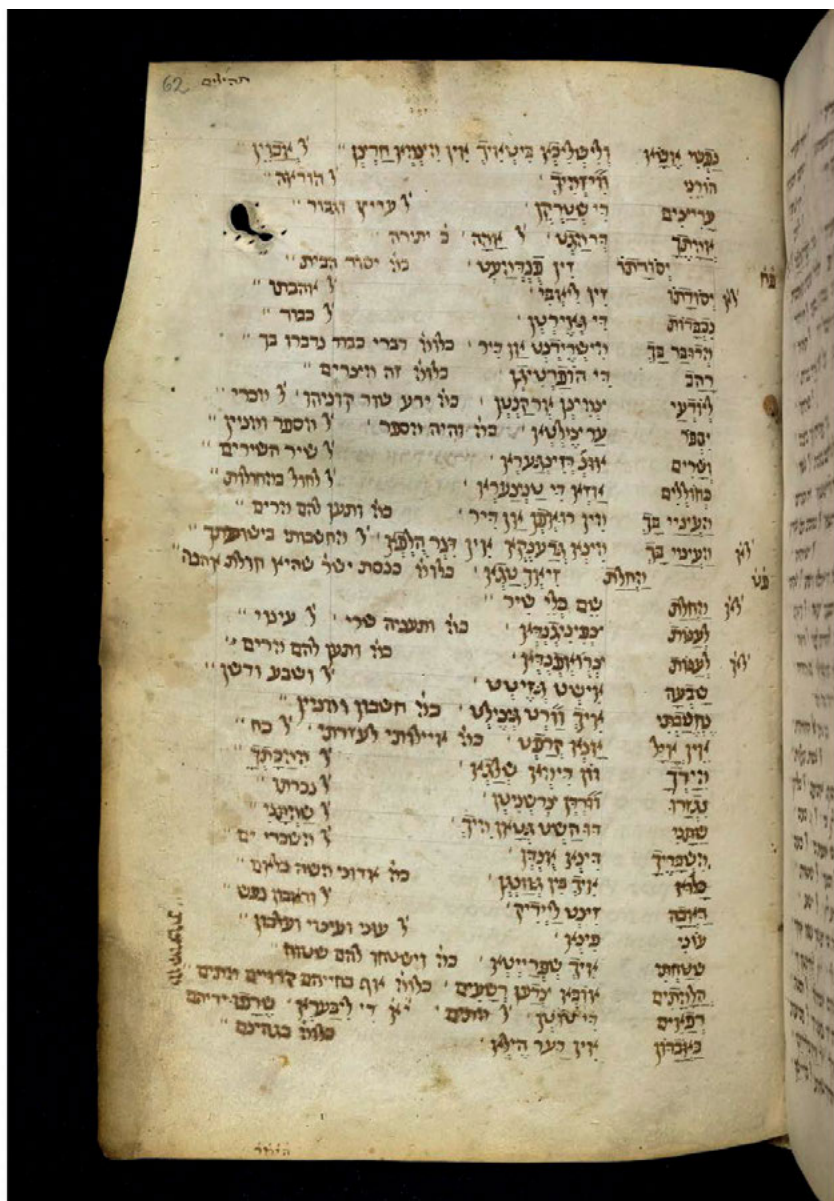


Fig. 2: Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, Cod. Reuchlin 8, Yiddish Bible glossary, fol. 62r.
© Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe (urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-17443).

now housed at the British Library in London (BL, Ms. Or. 740 = Add. 11416). This manuscript provides us with a better understanding of how and why this particular Kabbalistic book (and perhaps the others, too) was removed from the collection: in addition to Gikatilla's work, the manuscript also contains copies of three letters written by Trithemius and a Latin translation of the *Sefer Yešira* copied in Reuchlin's hand and dated 'Rome 1488'. A closer look reveals that the folios in the volume were recounted in 1576, something that is not seen in any of the other manuscripts. No name is mentioned in the manuscript itself, but Johannes Pistorius is known to have been appointed librarian of the library in Karlsruhe one year earlier in 1575 – the very same Johannes Pistorius who published the one and only volume of his *Artis Cabalisticæ hoc est Reconditæ Theologiæ et Philosophiæ scriptorum Tomus I* in 1587. It is unlikely that this is a mere coincidence, and on reading the volume, it is evident that Pistorius printed the very same Latin translation as found in Reuchlin's manuscript. There can therefore be no doubt that Pistorius intensively used the Reuchlin manuscripts.

There is no evidence of any other Christian Hebraist who may have had access to the Kabbalistic books in Reuchlin's collection before Pistorius. He seems to be the first one to have had a specific interest in the books and apparently used them for his studies of the Kabbala. No more is heard about Reuchlin's Kabbalistic books thereafter. In other words, Reuchlin's Kabbalistic manuscripts did attract the strong interest of at least one Christian Kabbalist at a relatively early stage – probably with fatal results in terms of the preservation of the manuscripts in the Karlsruhe collection.

How big is the loss of the texts for modern scholarship? It is difficult to say. While it is certainly regrettable that we are no longer in possession of Reuchlin's own books, which may have contained glosses and remarks that shed some light on his working methods, almost all of the texts are well documented in other manuscripts and editions, which means that the damage might still be considered limited from a purely textual point of view.

A second area in which considerable losses can be observed is the field of polemical literature. The book list from the Bibliotheca Palatina contains one entry called *Argumenta Judæorum contra Christianos*, although no book of this name was found in the Karlsruhe collection when Karl Christ discovered the list in 1913.⁹ Based upon Reuchlin's frequent mentioning of a *Liber Nişşaḥon* in his own works, Christ concluded in his 1924 publication that this must have been a copy of Yom Tov Lipmann Muehlhausen's popular *Sefer Nişşaḥon*, written in 1399. There was a great surprise a few years later, however: in 1936, the classicist,

⁹ Christ 1924.



Fig. 3: Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, Cod. Reuchlin 2, Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, fol. 1r, with two notes by Reuchlin, above: 'Libri Sanhedrin Jerosolymitani'; below: 'Thalmud Ioannis Reuchlin Phorcei LL Doctoris'. © Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe (urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-46200).

papyrologist and librarian Karl Preisendanz announced that the Baden State Library had acquired a polemical manuscript originating from Johannes Reuchlin's library. In the aftermath of this acquisition, Preisendanz published a short description of the manuscript which recently had found its way back to the Reuchlin collection after centuries of wandering.¹⁰ The elation surrounding this rediscovery was short-lived, however, as the manuscript was destroyed in 1942 together with 95% of the Karlsruhe library.

In spite of this regrettable second loss, it is fascinating to see that the information about Reuchlin's polemical manuscript, which is scattered about in different places, allows us to say much more about the book, its fate and influence than one might expect of an irretrievably lost item.¹¹ The first point refers to the content of Reuchlin's polemical manuscript: Karl Preisendanz was presumably the only person who studied Reuchlin's polemical manuscript in greater detail after its rediscovery in the early 1930s, but he was not a Hebraist and relied on Christ's statement that Reuchlin's library must have contained a copy of Yom Tov Lipmann Muehlhausen's *Sefer Nišṣaḥon*. Most of the article is thus limited to a detailed reconstruction of the history of the manuscript, beginning with its confiscation from the house of a Jew named Yo'el in Mainz in 1478 and ending with its reappearance on the antiquarian book market in the early 20th century. In addition, Preisendanz provides some basic codicological data about the 78-folio parchment manuscript and reports in great detail on the Latin and German glosses which featured throughout the work. Any attempt to locate these glosses in Yom Tov Lipmann Muehlhausen's work is not crowned by success. On the other hand, it is possible to refer them all to the *Sefer Nišṣaḥon ha-Yashan*, printed for the first time by the Christian theologian and Hebraist Johann Christoph Wagenseil in his *Tela Ignea Satanae* (Altdorf, 1681). Moreover, a close comparison of the glosses recorded by Preisendanz reveals that in addition to the *Sefer Nišṣaḥon Vetus*, Reuchlin's manuscript also contained the reports about the disputations of Paris (in 1240) and Barcelona (in 1263).

Once the correct content of Reuchlin's polemical manuscript has been established, its historical importance and impact becomes clear: as has been shown elsewhere, his lost polemical manuscript – the only known manuscript of the *Sefer Nišṣaḥon Vetus* written by a Jew – was probably the archetype for the other textual witnesses, all of which presumably originate from Christian hands. It is highly likely that the Hebraist Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), for example, who quotes this book in a number of his own works, read it in Reuchlin's Hebraica col-

¹⁰ Preisendanz 1936, 100–111.

¹¹ Cf. Leicht 2013b for a detailed discussion of this manuscript.

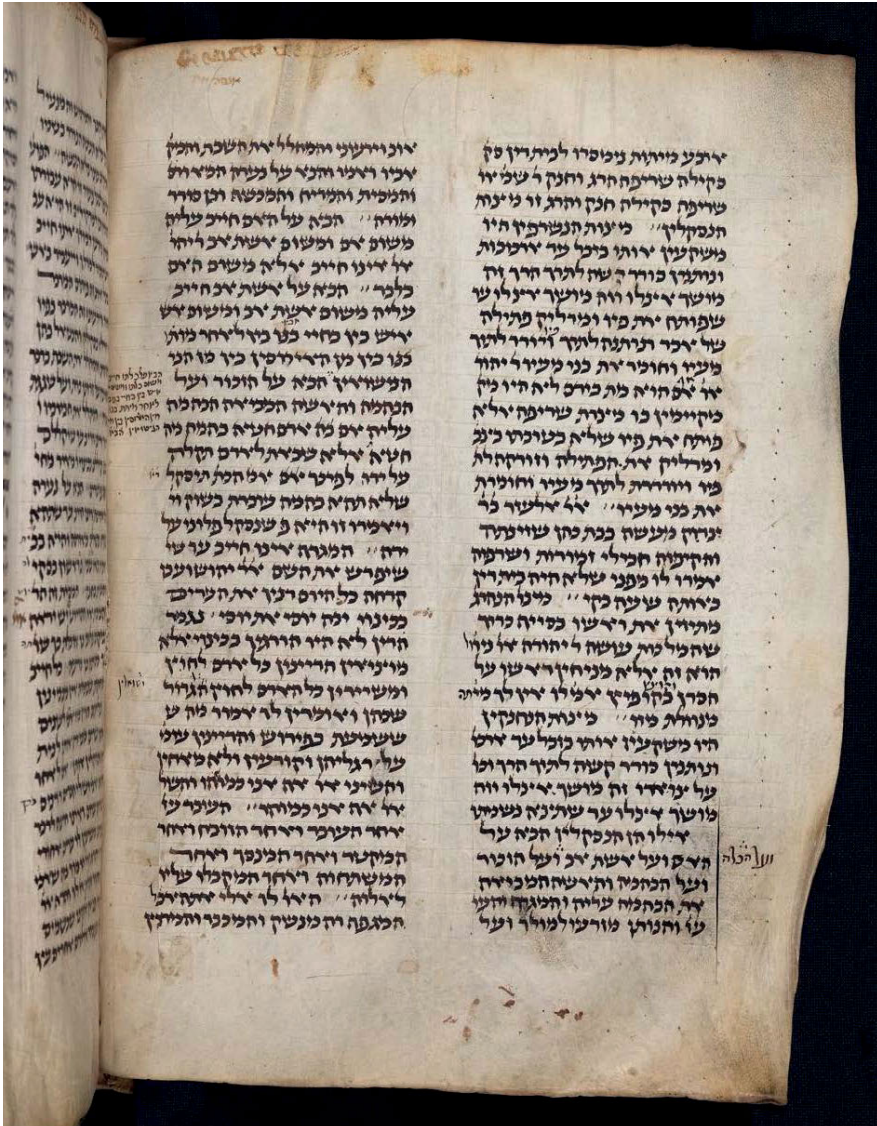


Fig. 4: Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, Cod. Reuchlin 2, Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, fol. 37v.
 © Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe (urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-46200).

lection. Likewise, there is good reason to assume that the Strasbourg manuscript (now lost), which served as a direct source for Wagenseil's edition, was copied from Reuchlin's polemical manuscript. Not until after the printed edition of 1681 do we start to find handwritten Jewish copies of the work again. In other words, this 'classic' of mediaeval Jewish polemical literature in fact goes back to a single archetype found in Reuchlin's library. Information about this lost manuscript is of prime importance not only for the long chain of Christian Hebraists and their anti-Jewish polemics, but also for modern research.

Thus we can see that there was quite a vivid interest in Reuchlin's library in this case, which again ultimately led to the removal of an important item from the Karlsruhe collection sometime during the second half of the 16th century or beginning of the 17th century. An owner's remark indicates that the book was inherited in 1642 by the Protestant theologian Johannes Georgius Hagen of Groß-Ingersheim (d. 1683), who also inherited another manuscript from Reuchlin's library – the volume containing the *Sefer ha-Kuzari* and David Qimḥi's commentary on the Book of Isaiah, which is now housed at the State Library of Württemberg in Stuttgart (Stuttgart, Cod. or. 20 2). I was unable to find out whether any of the ancestors of Georgius Hagen's father were especially involved in these removals, but it might well be that the two works were taken away together as both the *Sefer ha-Kuzari* and the *Sefer ha-Niṣṣaḥon* deal with some kind of religious dispute.

This brings us to the next group of books in the Karlsruhe collection where there are major losses to record: philosophical works. According to the evidence provided by the book list and other indirect sources, we know that, in addition to the *Sefer ha-Kuzari* mentioned above, Reuchlin must have possessed at various stages an early print of Maimonides' *More Nevukhim*, a manuscript of the anonymous philosophical work *Ruah Hen*, a handwritten Hebrew translation of Averroes' *Epitome of Logic* and – if the quotes are not indirect – possibly also copies of Abraham Ibn Ezra's *Yesod Mora*, Albo's *Sefer ha-Iqqarim* and Se'adya's *Sefer Emunot we-De'ot*.¹² Not a single volume of these books still exists in the Karlsruhe collection, and it is only by chance that a manuscript containing Yehuda ha-Levi's *Sefer ha-Kuzari* has survived. No principal suspect can be identified in these cases either, but I would like to briefly mention here that Reuchlin's *Sefer ha-Kuzari* manuscript is, in fact, of considerable importance for modern research on the Hebrew versions of the book. Numerous scholars have tried to solve the intricate problems presented by the different versions of the *Kuzari* translation by Yehuda ibn Tibbon found in the manuscripts and early prints. The Reuchlin

¹² Cf. von Abel/Leicht 2005, 44–51.

manuscript contains a so far unique preface by the well-known translator Shemu'el ben Yehuda ben Meshullam of Marseilles, who tells the reader that he revised Yehuda ibn Tibbon's translation of the *Sefer ha-Kuzari* in 1343 based on the Arabic original. No other manuscript containing this preface is known today, helping us to bring some order into the jungle of textual variants in the various manuscripts and editions.¹³ Shemu'el ben Yehuda was a well-known Provençal translator of the late 13th/early 14th century whom we can now credit with another work. He also lived at least five or six years longer than previously believed.

This survey on the books in Reuchlin's collection which got lost due to scholarly interest can be concluded with a few remarks about one manuscript that remained in Karlsruhe until the 20th century. According to the older catalogue descriptions, Cod. Reuchlin 6 contained copies of two works of grammar: David Qimḥi's *Mikhlol* – allegedly copied in 1282 (which would be extremely early, although the work is attested in dozens of other manuscripts, around 37 complete and 29 incomplete) – and *Sekhel Tov*, a work sometimes attributed to Moses Qimḥi, of which we now possess two manuscripts only. In both cases, the loss – which we dated in the catalogue to World War II¹⁴ – is extremely regrettable from a philological perspective. However, I now have good reason to doubt that this item really vanished in the flames of the war: firstly, all the manuscripts from the Reuchlin collection were evacuated from Karlsruhe before 1942, with the result that they all survived except for this grammar book. Secondly, it is rather conspicuous that this is yet another manuscript which had attracted scholarly interest shortly before its disappearance: a certain Benjamin Meyer, a rabbi from Alsace, submitted a dissertation to the University of Strasbourg in 1894 which included a critical edition of the work with a brief commentary, based upon our Karlsruhe manuscript. The editor explicitly writes the following in the preface:

Auch will ich nicht vergessen, an dieser Stelle der Verwaltung der Grossherzoglichen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe sowie der Kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Strassburg meinen innigsten Dank auszusprechen für die Bereitwilligkeit, mit welcher mir das Manuskript nach meinem damaligen Wohnsitz, Lauterburg, überlassen, beziehungsweise die nöthigen Bücher zur Verfügung gestellt wurden.¹⁵

I am also mindful not to forget on this occasion to express my sincerest thanks to the administration at the Court and State Library of the Grand Duchy in Karlsruhe and the Imperial University and State Library of Strasbourg for the willingness with which they

¹³ Cf. Leicht (forthcoming).

¹⁴ Von Abel/Leicht 2005, 215–220.

¹⁵ Meyer 1894, *Sepher Sechel Tob*, 16.

entrusted the manuscript to my former residence in Lauterburg and provided me with access to the books I required.

This is obviously quite alarming, but in fact we cannot blame Benjamin for the actual loss of the manuscript: in 1926, a certain E. L. Meyer from Karlsruhe edited and published the dissertation of his recently deceased son Arthur, who had been a student at Heidelberg University.¹⁶ This work – which escaped our attention when we composed the *Verzeichnis* in 2005 – contains a detailed description of the manuscript and another critical edition of the text, but does not mention the earlier edition published by Benjamin Meyer about thirty years earlier. Although there does not seem to be any direct relationship between the two men, it is striking that Cod. Reuchlin 6, the grammar book which was clearly still being used in the 1920s, is the only manuscript no longer found in the library today.

In conclusion, one might say that the intensive use made of Reuchlin's Hebrew book collection was one of the main reasons for the losses that occurred in subsequent centuries. But the good thing is that traces were left by the scholars who should probably be held responsible for the removal of certain items from the collection: it is usual for scholars to reveal the influence of what they have read, quote from books they have read, make copies, prepare editions, and so on. This is also what happened with many of the manuscripts that disappeared from Reuchlin's library.

The Hebrew books which Reuchlin made such great efforts to find and collect indeed formed a collection of prime importance from a number of perspectives: the famous Bible codex, the codex containing the *Targum Yonatan* on the Prophets and the Talmud manuscript – all still preserved in the Karlsruhe library – are not the only works that make this collection so impressive today and reveal the true importance of Reuchlin's Hebraica. Many other manuscripts also helped later Christian Kabbalists such as Pistorius to study Kabbala and provided Christian Hebraists like Sebastian Münster and Johann Christoph Wagenseil with a mediaeval anti-Christian polemical text which was to become a classic of the genre; and copy of the *Sefer ha-Kuzari* might be of crucial importance in solving many of the textual problems surrounding the Hebrew translation of the text. Furthermore, the manuscripts contained a rare 13th-century testimony to a grammar compendium from Southern France, making the collection even more outstanding. Given the relatively small quantity of books Reuchlin succeeded in buying, the list of 'important works' becomes even more impressive and shows

16 Meyer 1926, *Sepher Sekhel Tob*.

that Reuchlin's book collection really was one of prime importance not only to the collector himself, but also to subsequent generations of Hebraists and even to modern scholarship. His collection was probably more significant in historical terms than many of the much bigger libraries belonging to Christian Hebraists in later generations.

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Ilana Tahan

Matters of Provenance: Hebrew Manuscripts Owned by a Distinguished French Archbishop

Abstract: In 1946, the British Museum acquired six important Hebrew manuscripts that now form part of the British Library's collection. Five of the manuscripts were written in Italy in the 15th century and include Baḥya ibn Paquda's philosophical work *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ('Duties of the Heart'), Yosef Gikatilla's Kabbalistic treatise *Sha'are Ora* ('The Gates of Light'), and *Shesh Kenafayim* ('Six Wings'), an astronomical treatise by 'Immanu'el ben Ya'aqov Bonfils of Tarascon. This paper explores the manuscripts' content, codicological features, and fascinating provenance, focusing particularly on their illustrious former Christian owners. It further discusses the historical background and momentous circumstances that led to the accession of these handwritten Hebrew works to the British Museum's library seventy-one years ago.

1 Introduction

Amongst the rich holdings of the British Library's Hebrew manuscript collection, are six manuscripts which form the subject of this contribution. There is something very special these hand-copied books have in common that is both fascinating and intriguing: they all exhibit the arms of a French archbishop. Just two of the manuscripts have preserved the original brown leather bindings stamped with the archbishop's heraldic insignia (Fig. 1). The rest were re-bound, and all that remains from their early leather covers are rectangular panels embossed with the clergyman's coat of arms, pasted on to their inner back boards.

In this paper I propose to briefly describe the manuscripts, reveal the identity of their French owner and examine the factors that may have led to their acquisition, explore additional marks of ownership found in the manuscripts, and, finally, show how and when they ended up in the British Library.¹

¹ The manuscripts were initially part of the British Museum's collection, however, since 1972 when the British Library was formed by Act of Parliament, they have belonged to the British Library collection.

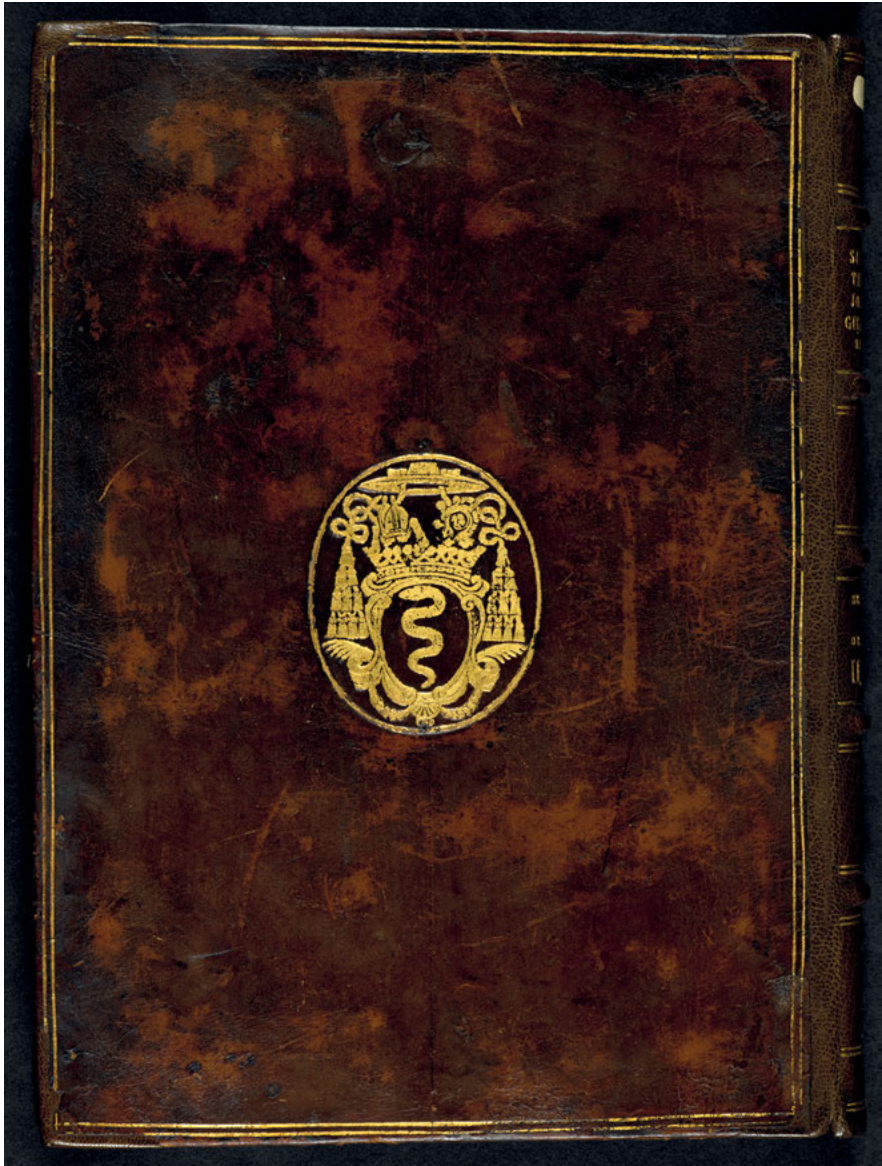


Fig. 1: Original binding featuring the cleric's coat of arms. Ms. Or. 11793 - *Sitre Tora*. By permission of the British Library.

2 The manuscripts

2.1 Or. 11791

Copied in a neat Italian semi-cursive hand the manuscript comprises two commentaries on *Sefer Yešira* ('Book of Formation'). One of the earliest products of Kabbala, *Sefer Yešira*, an anonymous Kabbalistic tract on the ten *sefirot* and the 22 letters of the alphabet and their permutations has been attributed to Abraham the Patriarch and even to Adam and Moses. The work is a mixture of philology, mathematics, mysticism and esotericism. Owing to its obscure and complicated style, *Sefer Yešira* generated numerous commentaries by notable scholars including Se'adya Ga'on. The commentaries included here are the works of Yosef ben Shalom Ashkenazi², a well-known Kabbalist of the late 13th or early 14th century (active 1270–1325)³, and that of the famous mediaeval Kabbalist Yiṣḥaq ben Avraham Sagi Nahor, known as Isaac the Blind (1160–1235).⁴ The colophon on fol. 42r states that the manuscript was copied by Moshe ben Yiṣḥaq, but no other details regarding the original commission are provided. In the manuscript the leather rectangle bearing the French archbishop's crest is affixed inside the back cover. Italy, 15th century; 50 vellum leaves; 3 paper flyleaves at the front; 3 paper flyleaves at the back; 5 quires of 10 leaves each; catchwords are placed at the end of quires. The ruling is not visible; size: 22.75 × 17 cm. Contains diagrams, volvelles (e.g. fols 7v, 21v; Figs 2 and 3) and some manicha. Half leather modern green binding embossed with the British Museum's crest on back cover. Number 3730 is written on fol. 1v.

2.2 Or. 11792

Sha'are Ora ('Gates of Light') or *Sefer ha-Ora*, a Kabbalistic treatise on the Divine name and the ten *sefirot* ('ten divine emanations') by the renowned Spanish kabbalist Joseph ben Avraham Gikatilla (1248–1305). The codex was written in a small and very fine semi-cursive Italian hand (Fig. 4). It lacks a colophon therefore nothing is known about the original commission. The French archbishop's arms are stamped on the covers of the original binding. Italy, 15th century; 76 vellum

² Also known as Yosef ben Shalom ha-Arokh, an epithet denoting tall.

³ In the manuscript Ashkenazi's commentary covers fols 1r–42r.

⁴ Sagi Nahor's commentary occupies fols 43r–48r.

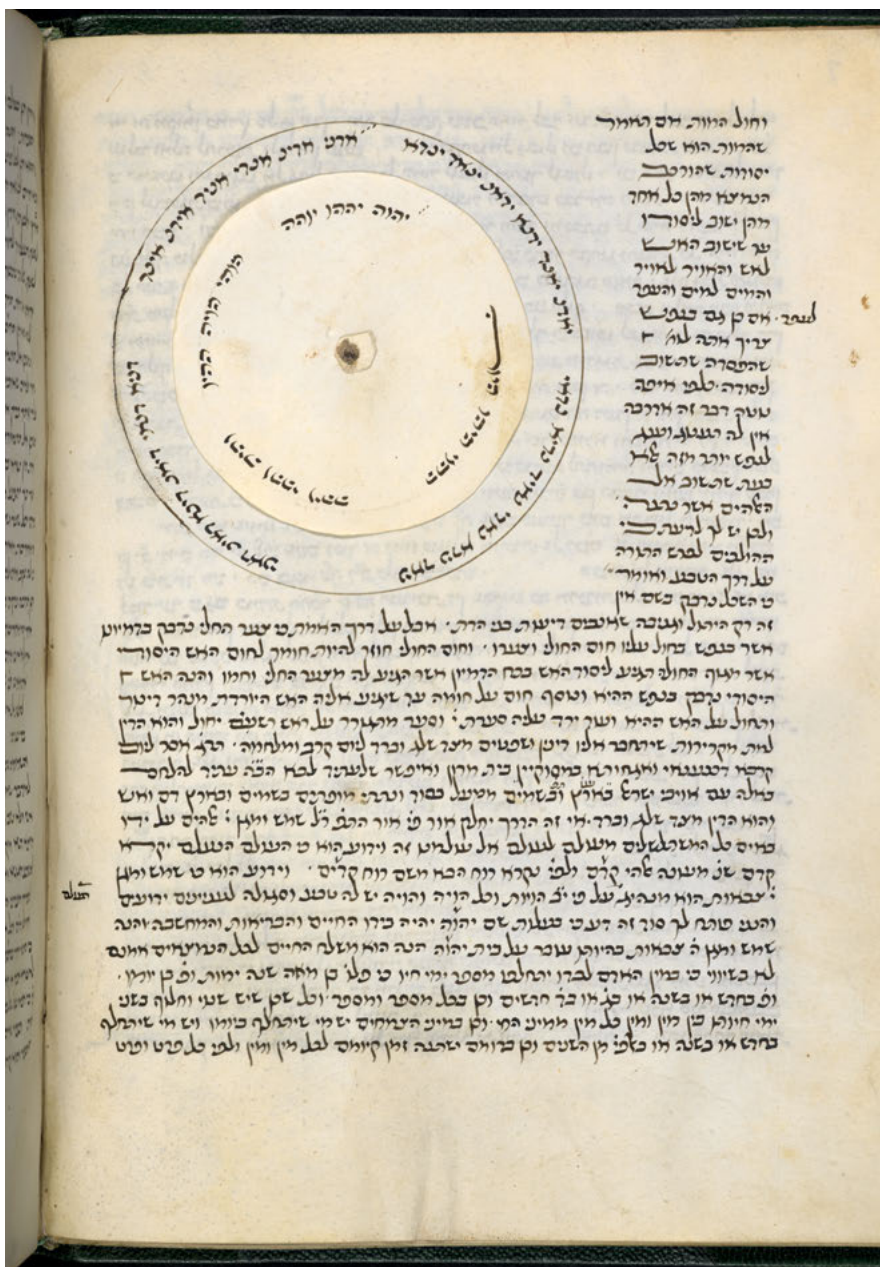


Fig. 2: A volvelle in *Sefer Yeşira*. Volvelles are discs used for calculations/permutations and can be physically manipulated. They are often found in mediaeval astronomical, calendrical and cabbalist treatises. Ms. Or. 11791, fol. 7v, detail. By permission of the British Library.



Fig. 3: Page with volvelle from *Sefer Yešira*. Ms. Or. 11791, fol. 8v. By permission of the British Library .

leaves; 1 blank vellum leaf and 3 paper flyleaves at the front; 3 blank vellum leaves and 3 flyleaves at the back; 8 quires of which the 1st, 2nd–7th and 8th have 9, 10 and 7 leaves respectively; catchwords placed at the end of quires. Ruling carried out with a sharp object; size: 22.5 × 16.5 cm. Number 3726 is written on fol. 1r.

2.3 Or. 11793

A manuscript consisting of two works: *Sitre Tora* ('Secrets of the Tora') a Kabbalistic commentary on Maimonides' *More Nevukhim* ('Guide for the Perplexed') by

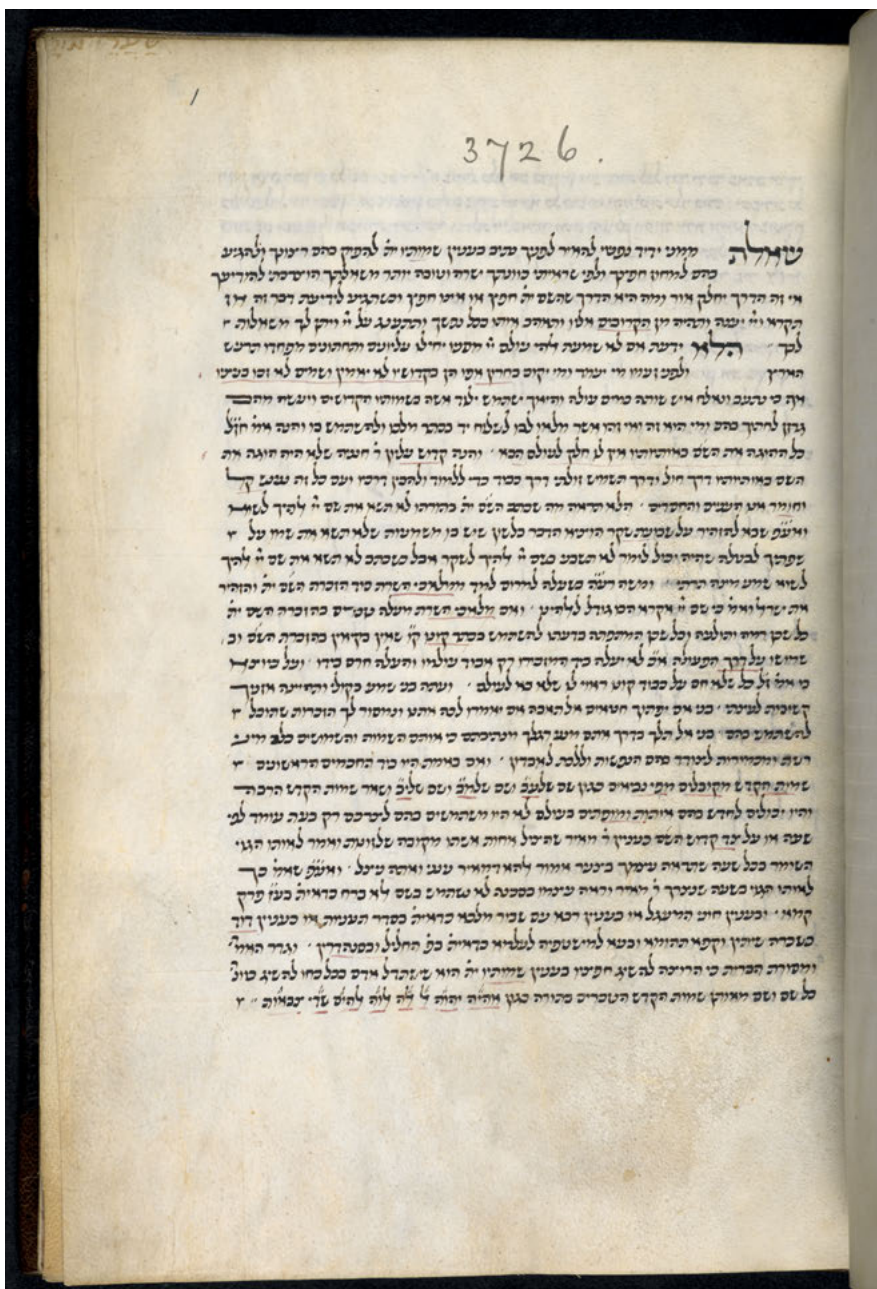


Fig. 4: . Beginning of *Sha'are Ora*. Ms. Or. 11792, fol. 1r. By permission of the British Library.

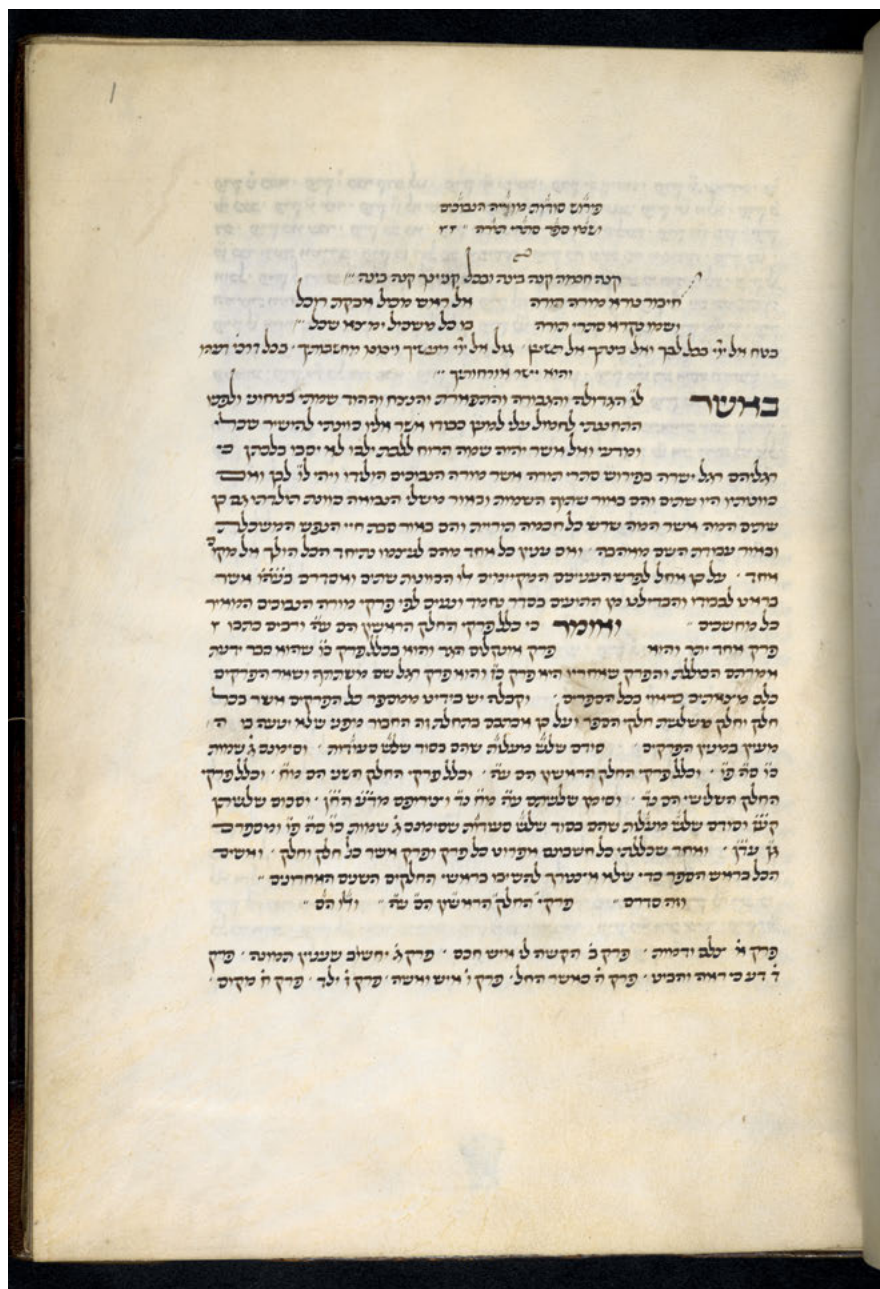


Fig. 5: Beginning of *Sitre Tora*. Ms. Or. 11793, fol.1r. By permission of the British Library.

Avraham ben Shemu'el Abulafia (c. 1240–1290),⁵ and *Sefer Yešira* (Fig. 5).⁶ The manuscript which was penned in a semi-cursive Italian hand has no colophon. The handwriting in the first section (fols 1–45) is similar if not the same as that found in Or. 11792. The original leather binding with the archbishop's arms has been preserved. Italy, 15th century; 50 vellum leaves; 4 blank leaves between fols 45 and 46; 1 blank vellum leaf and 3 paper flyleaves at the front; 5 blank vellum leaves and 3 paper flyleaves at the back; boxed; quires of 10 leaves; size: 22.2 × 16.5 cm.

2.4 Or. 11794

Ḥovot ha-Levavot ('Duties of the Heart') by Baḥya ben Yosef ibn Paquda (active in the 11th century) in the Hebrew version of Yehuda ben Sha'ul ibn Tibbon. Composed in Arabic around 1040 under the title *Farā'id al-Qulūb*, this is ibn Paquda's most famous ethical and philosophical treatise. Copied without a colophon, the codex was penned in a semi-cursive Italian hand in two columns per page. Chapter headings and minor decorations were executed in red ink (Fig. 6). The last section of text was written within a decorated circle. On fol. 1r a Hebrew inscription reads *mezuqaq*, which means that the manuscript had been revised and corrected. This may also indicate that the manuscripts had been censored, although no censorial marks and signatures are visible. The leather panel with the clergymen's armorial bearings is pasted on the inner back cover. Italy, 15th century; 79 vellum leaves; 1 paper flyleaf at the front; 1 blank vellum leaf and 3 fly leaves at the back; quires of 8 leaves each; catchwords placed at the end of quires; size: 20.5 × 27 cm. Half leather modern black and navy binding embossed with the British Museum's crest on back cover; boxed.

2.5 Or. 11795

Shesh Kenafayim ('Six Wings') by the famous mathematician and astronomer Immanu'el ben Ya'aqov Bonfils of Tarascon, Provence (c. 1300–c. 1377). This is an astronomical treatise with tables calculating the conjunctions and apposi-

⁵ In the manuscript this commentary covers fols 1r–45v; on fol. 46v there is a Latin inscription reading 'Liber [...] de Divinis Nominibus et alia quedam cabalistica e raziel'.

⁶ This kabbalistic tract, fols 47r–50v, was copied by a second scribe in a larger semi-cursive Italian script than that employed by the first.

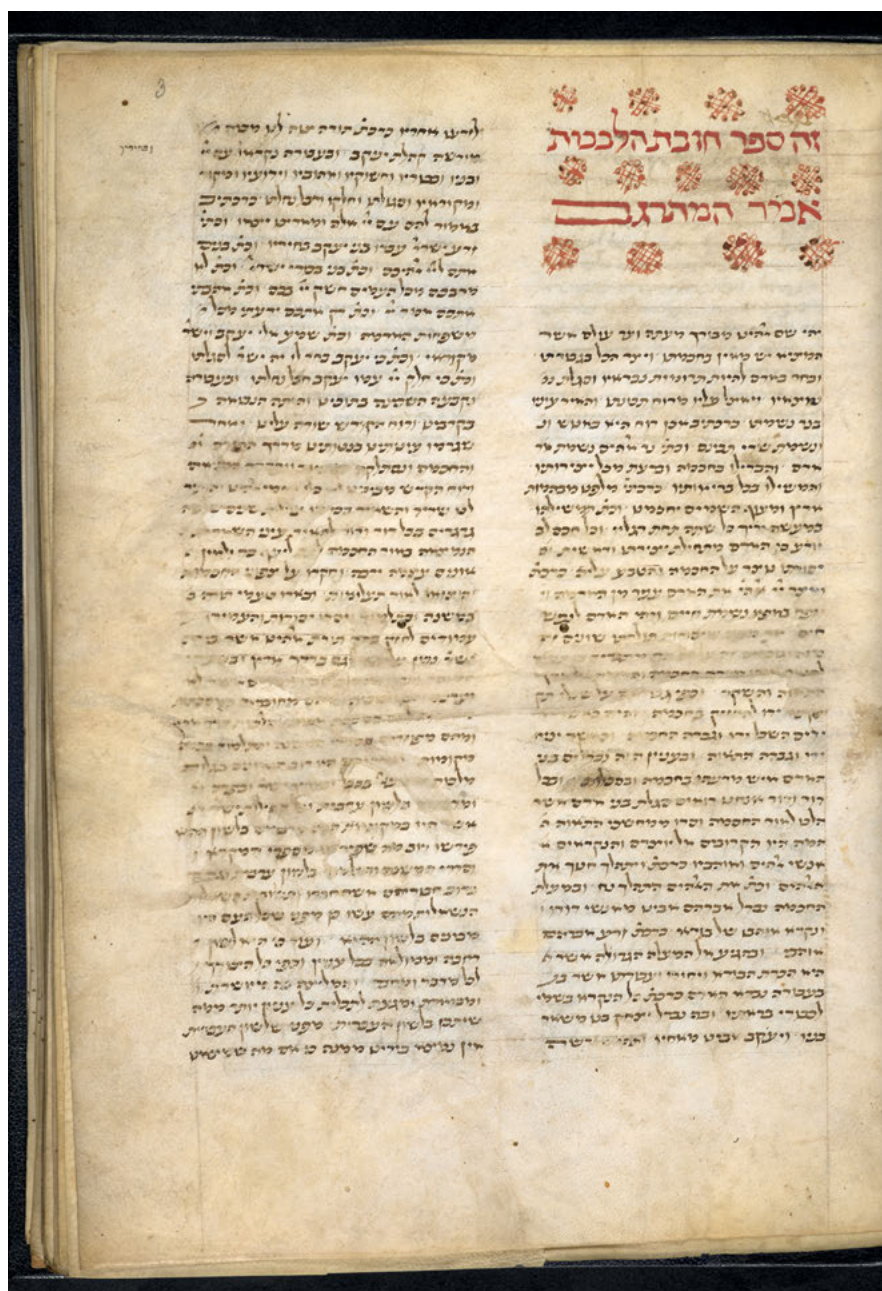


Fig. 6: Decorated heading at the beginning of *Hovot ha-Levavot*. Ms. Or. 11794, fol. 3r, detail. By permission of the British Library.

הכנה השמיים

שם
הנז
גרע



הכנה השמיים		הכנה השמיים	
א	ב	ג	ד
א	ב	ג	ד
ה	ו	ז	ח
ט	י	יא	יב
יג	יד	טו	טז
יז	יח	יט	כ
כא	כב	כג	כד
כה	כו	כז	כח
כט	ל		

הכנה השמיים

הכנה השמיים		הכנה השמיים	
א	ב	ג	ד
א	ב	ג	ד
ה	ו	ז	ח
ט	י	יא	יב
יג	יד	טו	טז
יז	יח	יט	כ
כא	כב	כג	כד
כה	כו	כז	כח
כט	ל		

Fig. 7: Table with calculations for Aries in *Shesh Kenafayim*. Ms. Or. 11795, fol. 19v. By permission of the British Library.

tions of the planets, lunar and solar eclipses, dates of the new moon, all of which had great applications for fixing of the calendar in Jewish life during the Renaissance (Fig. 7). Its title relates to the prophets' vision of the seraphim (Isaiah 6:2). Penned in a semi-cursive Italian hand and lacking a colophon, the manuscript contains numerous tables illustrated with the signs of the zodiac, some of which are in colour (e.g. the wheel of fortune with the zodiac signs and names of the months, fol. 27v; Fig. 8). The leather strip showing the archbishop's crest is affixed inside the back cover. On fol. 30r there are sale notes with the names of



Fig. 8: A zodiac wheel in *Shesh Kenafayim*. Ms. Or. 11795, fol. 27v, detail. By permission of the British Library.

former owners: Daniel ben Avraham ben Shabbetai of Castro sold the manuscript to Yosef ben Yiṣḥaq da Traetto (now called Minturno); Moshe ben Yosef bought the manuscript from Elḥanan ben Yosef ha-Rofe da Traetto in March 1603. Italy, 15th century; 30 vellum leaves on guards; 1 paper flyleaf at the front; 2 paper fly-leaves at the back; size: 20.5 × 17.5 cm. Scribbling and doodles on fols 29 and 30. Half leather modern maroon binding embossed with the British Museum's crest on back cover. Number 3729 is written on fol. 2r.

2.6 Or. 11796

Anonymous calendrical and astronomical tables with penwork borders delicately executed in red and violet inks and incorporating decorative motifs (e.g. a

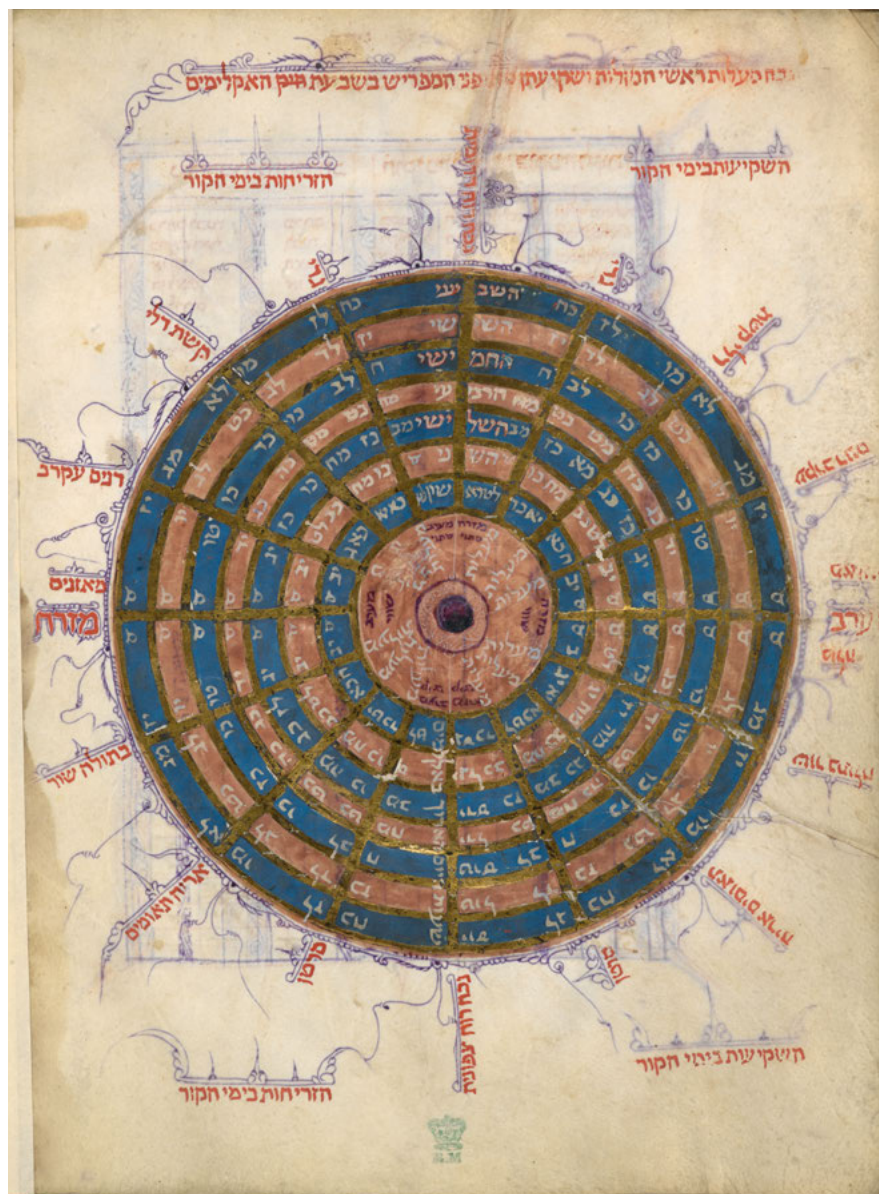


Fig. 10: Illuminated wheel of fortune. Ms. Or. 11796, fol. 57v. By permission of the British Library.

side are distinguishable. Pricking and ruling are visible. Half leather modern maroon binding embossed with the British Museum's crest on back cover; size: 25.5 × 22 cm. Number 3727 is inscribed on the first back flyleaf.

Let us sum up our findings so far: three codices deal with Kabbala, two with astronomy and calendrics, and one with ethics and philosophy. Their contents would have been of great interest to Christian Hebraists. Was the distinguished owner of these manuscripts a Christian Hebraist? What prompted him to acquire these manuscripts and how exactly did he obtain them? These are some of the questions we shall attempt to answer in the paragraphs that follow.

3 A distinguished owner

The arms stamped on the covers or affixed inside the back boards of the six codices described earlier, are those of Jacques Nicolas Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen (1655–1707).⁸ The main components of his heraldic device are: *D'or, à la bisse d'azur, posée en pal et ondoyante* – a golden shield with a blue⁹ undulating grass serpent (*coluber* in Latin) which is the coat of arms of the Colbert Family (Fig. 11). The shield is surmounted by a marquis' coronet and right at the top by a *gallero*, an ecclesiastical hat with a flat top which was originally a pilgrim's hat similar to a sombrero. On the upper left side of the shield is a mitre – a ceremonial headdress worn by Roman Catholic abbots and higher ranks, while on the opposite side is a crosier, a stylised staff, also known as a pastoral staff. The ten tassels flanking the shield on each side indicate the cleric's place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Jacques Nicolas Colbert was the second son of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), the illustrious French statesman known as *le Grand Colbert*, who from 1665 to 1683, served as principal minister, *Contrôleur général des finances* (Minister of Finance) and *Surintendant général des Bâtiments du roi* to Louis XIV of France, the Sun King.

Educated for a career in the church, Jacques Nicolas Colbert served as abbot of Le Bec-Hellouin in Normandy (1664), as abbot's deputy or prior at La Charité sur Loire, abbot of Ambierle (1669), becoming Archbishop of Rouen on 29th January 1691. He served in that role until his death in 1707, at the age of 52. In 1678 he was

⁸ As identified by Leveen 1951/1952, 95–96.

⁹ Whereas the serpent is coloured blue on Jacques Nicolas Colbert's official crest, in the manuscripts discussed here his heraldic device including the serpent are stamped in gold.



Fig. 11: Remnant of the original binding with the cleric's coat of arms. Ms. Or. 11791, *Sefer Yešira*. By permission of the British Library.

admitted to the Académie Française where 'il protégeait les savants et les belles-lettres'¹⁰ and was one of the first members of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, a French learned society founded in 1663 by his father. According to Honoré Fisquet, Jacques Nicolas Colbert was an eminent and erudite cleric. 'Son zèle, sa charité et sa science le mirent au rang des plus illustres évêques du règne de Louis XIV.'¹¹ Nonetheless, he does not appear to have been either a Christian Hebraist or a Christian Kabbalist.¹²

As the son of one of the century's most powerful and influential statesman, he would have undoubtedly had access to the *Colbertine*, one of the most remarkable European libraries his father had assiduously and passionately created and developed. Moreover, in view of the fact that at some point, following his father's death, Jacques Nicolas Colbert became the rightful owner of this library, it is deemed essential to provide a summary account of how this outstanding collection came into existence, what it held and the role it played in France's history. Concurrently, it would be necessary to determine whether a possible connection did exist between the *Colbertine* and the codices examined here.

¹⁰ Fisquet 1864–1874, 255.

¹¹ Fisquet 1864–1874, 255.

¹² His name does not feature in the detailed Christian Hebraists names' list in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, see Lowe 1971, nor is there any mention of such activity in Fisquet 1864–1874. Neither is his name among the Christian Hebraists listed in Burnett 2012, 279–297.

A great patron of the arts and literature, Jean Baptiste Colbert was in charge of the Royal Library from 1661 to 1683, and took an active interest in developing it.

If there was one cultural activity for which Colbert displayed real personal enthusiasm it was the collection of books and manuscripts, in which respect he exemplified the Baconian proposition that 'knowledge is power'. A strong streak of utilitarianism ran through his approach to knowledge, for without in any sense undervaluing it in its own right he was especially drawn to bodies of thought or information which could be applied to the service of the state. As a statesman as well as a bibliophile it made sense that he should have built an extensive library. His private activities as a collector of books carried over into the public domain, for in 1661 he found himself in charge of the royal library.¹³

An avid book collector, *le Grand Colbert* had also been, since 1658, intensively and zealously engaged in building up and enhancing his own library, which, from a very modest resource became 'une des plus belles collections privées d'Europe'.¹⁴ In 1663 he employed as his librarian Pierre de Carcavy (c. 1600–1684) a well-known mathematician, who in 1667, through his patron's influence, became a custodian for the Royal Library. From 1667 until 1700¹⁵, the library was run and managed by Étienne Baluze (1638–1718), a noted ecclesiastical scholar, historian and bibliophile. Under Baluze, the *Colbertine* grew enormously.¹⁶

This was a fine and prestigious library that its owner savored in filling with rare imprints and valuable hand-copied books from every part of Europe and the Levant where France had appointed consular envoys. In the *Colbertine* there were also significant archival documents that had been collected and retrieved from repositories across France. This outstanding private collection functioned both as a scholarly resource and as a national archive, and served its remarkable keeper as one of the major sources of information for the administration of government and the expansion of the rights of the monarchy.

At the same time *le Grand Colbert* had full control over the Royal Library, which in his capacity as superintendent of the king's buildings¹⁷, he conveniently re-housed in a building close to his own home.

He regularly sent archivists to retrieve books and manuscripts from the king's library. In reality, he completely controlled the Royal Library [...]. The creation of this dual library was

¹³ Sturdy 1995, 66.

¹⁴ Balayé 1988, 72.

¹⁵ I.e. seventeen years after Jean Baptiste Colbert's death.

¹⁶ Saunders 1991, 283–300.

¹⁷ Colbert was appointed in this role in 1664; on Colbert's controlling powers over the Royal Library and the state information system see also Valentine 2012, 84–87.

an act of great significance. Colbert physically brought the library under his control and connected it to his own.¹⁸

It is believed that Colbert had a keen interest in de-accessioning the 'duplicates' in the Royal Library, some of which had apparently ended up in his own collection. Jacob Soll claims that following Jean Baptiste Colbert's death, there were complaints over a large number of items that had seemingly disappeared from the King's Library. Accusations of theft against both Carcavy and Baluze, the scholars he had employed to manage the *Colbertine*, were circulated in an anonymous pamphlet.¹⁹ The misappropriation of material from the King's Library features also in a book by Thierry Sarmant. Sarmant maintains that Francois Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois (1641–1691), who became the most influential minister after *le Grand Colbert's* death, summoned Jacques Nicolas Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen, to explain the meaning of the public accusations levelled against his father. One of these accusations referred explicitly to the removal of numerous books from the Royal collection and their transfer to the *Colbertine*:

L'on assure que le nommé Baluze, bibliothécaire de M. Colbert, a fait passer de la Bibliothèque du roy grand nombre de livres dans celle dudit sieur Colbert.²⁰

The *Colbertine* became well known among Europe's learned people for its impressive rare editions and the huge number of books it held. 'When Colbert died in November 1683, his library contained 23,000 books and 5,212 manuscripts'²¹, but the exact number may have been higher.²²

Interestingly, among the vast number of European and oriental handwritten volumes held in the *Colbertine*, there was also a fair number of Hebrew specimens. While amassing rare material to enhance his fine library, *le Grand Colbert*, spared neither efforts nor money to ensure that the Royal Library expanded its manuscript collection through the addition of a host of treasured items in exotic and oriental languages, including material printed and written in Hebrew.²³ Deter-

¹⁸ Soll 2009, 94.

¹⁹ Soll 2009, 213.

²⁰ Sarmant 2003, 59.

²¹ Saunders 1991, 283–300. Similar figures appear in Waygand/Davis 1994, 515 and in Soll 2008, 3–28, particularly p.12. This article appears also on the Internet http://www.academia.edu/2764767/The_Antiquary_and_the_Information_State_Colberts_Archives_Secret_Histories_and_the_Affair_of_the_Regale_1663-1682.

²² For example, Joseph R. Hacker maintains that there were 41,844 printed books in the *Colbertine*, Hacker 1997, 341 (in Hebrew).

²³ According to Hacker in the 16th century there were just around 50 Hebrew manuscripts in

mined and eager to implement and expedite his acquisition policy, he appealed to the French diplomatic emissaries in the Levant, and dispatched special envoys to the area to search and procure ancient imprints and hand-copied books in Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, that would enrich the King's as well as his own collection.

Two of the most dynamic agents acting on his behalf were Father Joseph Besson (1610–1690), head of the Jesuit Mission in Syria, and Johann-Michael Wansleben (1635–1679) or Jean Michel Vansleb, as he was known in France. A German orientalist and distinguished polyglot born into a Lutheran family in Erfurt in 1635, Vansleb converted to the Catholic faith and entered the Dominican order.²⁴ In 1670 he was introduced to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who the following year sent him on a mission to Egypt and Ethiopia. Besson and Vansleb operated in Aleppo and Constantinople where they managed to purchase manuscripts in diverse languages including Hebrew.²⁵ The exact number of Hebrew manuscripts added to the *Colbertine* in the decade preceding *le Grand Colbert's* death is unknown. What is known with some certitude, nonetheless, is that out of the 171 Hebrew manuscripts held in that library, 83 had been definitely acquired in the Levant.²⁶ And given that Vansleb was regarded as being 'l'un des plus grands fournisseurs en manuscrits orientaux de la Colbertine et de la bibliothèque du roi...'²⁷, it is highly possible that he had supplied his employer with by far the largest quantity of Hebrew manuscripts.

Jean-Baptiste Colbert left his library to his eldest son Jean-Baptiste Antoine Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay (1651–1690), who was Minister of the French navy. Following the latter's untimely death, the *Colbertine* was sold for the benefit of his young children to his brother and Colbert's second son, Jacques Nicolas Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen. On the latter's passing in 1707, the library went to his nephew Charles Eléonor Colbert, Comte de Seignely (1689–1747). Since Jacques

the French Royal Library. A few more were added at the beginning of the 17th century. In 1668 Jean-Baptiste Colbert ordered the Bibliothèque Mazarine (i.e. the Library that once belonged to Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) to transfer manuscripts, including 102 Hebrew manuscripts to the Royal Library (now the BnF) in exchange for duplicates. Another 127 Hebrew manuscripts came from the collection of Gilbert Gaulmin (1585–1665) a learned French lawyer and polyglot. Due to Colbert's endeavors, by 1680 the number of Hebrew handwritten books in the Royal Library reached 282. See Hacker 1997.

²⁴ Baleyé 1988, 98.

²⁵ Joseph R. Hacker claims that Vansleb spent three years in Constantinople, 1673–1676 working for Colbert, Hacker 1997, 337–338 (in Hebrew).

²⁶ Hacker 1997, 340 (in Hebrew).

²⁷ Pouillon 2012, 1008.

Nicolas Colbert owned the *Colbertine* for a good number of years²⁸, one is hastily inclined to infer that the six manuscripts dealt with here may have been already in that library when he took charge of it. In reality this assumption falls through chiefly because none of the manuscripts bears traces of the distinct marks associated with *le Grand Colbert*, namely:

- a red morocco luxurious binding displaying a border with antique finish
- his coat of arms in the centre of the covers featuring a snake surrounded by the collars of the Orders of St Michael and of the Holy Ghost
- the monogram JBC on the spine
- the inscription *Bibliotheca Colbertina* within its pages

This strengthens the premise that the manuscripts were most probably added to the Archbishop of Rouen's personal collection, either before or after he became the proprietor of the *Colbertine*. Weirdly enough, a detail about books in his private library is linked to his death:

A sa mort la plupart des livres de sa bibliothèque entrèrent dans la prestigieuse bibliothèque paternelle dont il avait hérité.²⁹

If that is correct, it implies that his own printed book collection was sold in 1728³⁰ and his manuscripts in 1732.³¹ The latter is however impossible as it would suggest that the six manuscripts discussed here had never left France, which is of course nonsensical.

Seeing that, practically nothing is known of the size and scope of Jacques Nicolas Colbert's personal collection, or the range of Hebrew material held in it, leaves inevitably room for conjecture. Equally puzzling are the circumstances that prompted the acquisition of the six manuscripts. Even so, it is reasonable to assume that the key incentives were Jacques Nicolas Colbert's genuine interest in books and book collecting, coupled with the rise of oriental learning in 17th century France. The latter had been markedly bolstered by his father's manifold initiatives. Aside his ministerial responsibilities, *le Grand Colbert* was *the king's preferred agent in matters of cultural patronage*.³² He introduced numerous

²⁸ From 1690 until 1707.

²⁹ Collet 1999, 156.

³⁰ According to the sale catalogue *Bibliotheca Colbertina, seu, Catalogus librorum bibliothecae* only the printed books held the *Colbertine* were sold in 1728.

³¹ The manuscripts held in the *Colbertine* were sold to King Louis XV for 300,000 French livres.

³² Dew 2009, 19.

reforms aimed at transforming the cultural life and learning environment in France.

Colbert's initiatives in the patronage of Oriental learning were largely responsible for the growth of Parisian collections of Oriental texts and laid the foundations for French Oriental scholarship in the eighteenth century.³³

At the Collège Royal (later Collège de France) which had been founded by King Francois I in 1529 two chairs of Hebrew were created in 1531 and 1533. This institution remained the only secular establishment where Hebrew continued to be taught during the 17th century. Colbert's decision to set up additional chairs of oriental languages at the Collège Royal stemmed from the need for language specialists to work in the mercantile companies that had been established in the Levant and elsewhere.³⁴ Another compelling factor that spurred Jean Baptiste Colbert to foster oriental expertise was Biblical scholarship:

For most educated people in early modern Europe 'Oriental languages' meant Hebrew and any other languages that might supplement the study of the Scriptures: Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic. In seventeenth century Europe, biblical criticism was a highly controversial affair, since the authority of the Bible, was tied to issues of church discipline, and inextricably connected with politics.³⁵

The love of books and the spread of Oriental studies may not have been the only reasons for getting hold of Hebrew manuscripts. Although concrete proof as to Jacques Nicolas Colbert's familiarity with Hebrew is wanting, the likelihood that he may have studied it as part of his religious training, and that he probably collected Hebrew books in order to expressly illustrate his erudition, cannot be ruled out entirely. After all, in the period between the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, highly educated individuals from upper class families, were often tutored privately in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

Hebrew was not just a third language in addition to Latin and Greek; it was the language that anyone who pretended to learning at least pretended to know.³⁶

³³ Dew 2009, 22.

³⁴ In 1664 Colbert established the French East India – *Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes orientales*; in 1666 he founded a Levant Company to control French commerce in the Mediterranean realm and compete with England and other political rivals.

³⁵ Dew 2009, 31.

³⁶ Katchen 1988, 9.

How does one explain the lack of any biblical texts and the presence of three Kabbalistic works among the Hebrew manuscripts that once belonged to Jacques Nicolas Colbert? Christian scholars believed that the Kabbala or Jewish mystical tradition ‘contained the authentic revelation that demonstrated the truth of Christianity’.³⁷ Was this the reason behind the Archbishop of Rouen’s selection? In fact we have absolutely no idea as to what his selection criteria in relation to Hebrew material might have been, and what other Hebrew manuscripts and printed books he amassed during his lifetime.

4 Additional marks of ownership

Data regarding ownership or provenance can be gathered from the evidence found within a manuscript, such as for example a colophon, heraldic emblems, inscriptions recording births and deaths, sales records and bookplates. The six manuscripts dealt with here contain additional marks of ownership in the form of inscriptions that require closer examination (Fig. 12). This would aid putting together the history of their provenance prior to their entering the British Museum.

Or. 11791

On 2nd flyleaf at end:

- a) *Ex Libris Biblioteca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Montisp.*
- b) *D. Ev. Ap. 10, 1780. From T. P. by S.H. Jun:*

Pencilled on 1st flyleaf at end: *50 folios, J. Leveen, 31.vii.’46.*

Or. 11792

On a paper strip glued inside the back cover:

- a) *Ex Libris Biblioteca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Montisp*
- b) *D.Ev. Ap.10, 1780. From T.P. by Steph: H. Jun:*

Pencilled on 1st blank vellum leaf at end: *76 folios, J. Leveen, 30.vii.’46.*

³⁷ Katchen 1988, 12.

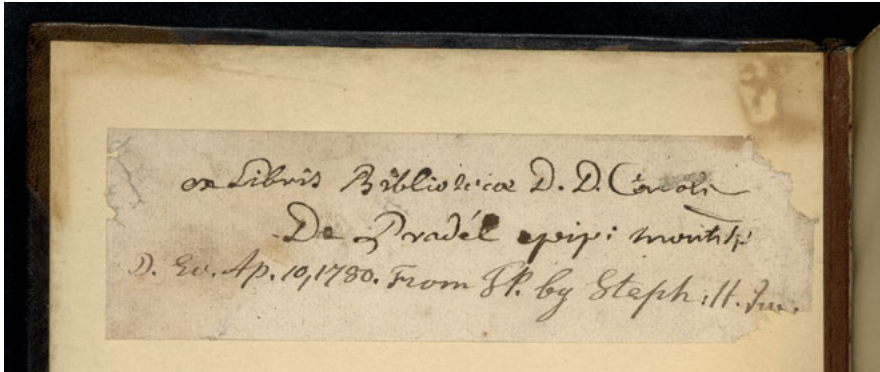


Fig. 12: Owners inscriptions inside back cover of Ms. Or.11792 (*Sha'are Ora*). By permission of the British Library.

Or. 11793

On a paper strip stuck to inner back cover:

- a) *ex Libris Bibliotheca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Montisp*
- b) *D.Ev. Ap.10, 1780. From T.P. by S. H. Jun: +*

Pencilled on 1st blank vellum leaf at end: *50 folios, J. Leveen, 30.vii.'46.*

Or. 11794

On 2nd flyleaf at end:

- a) *ex Libris Bibliotheca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Montisp*
- b) *D.Ev. Ap.10, 1780. From T.P. by Steph: H. Jun:y*

At head of fol. 2r: *Dobitum Cordium liber legalis R. Chya Judicis. Emi Roma 24 Nov 1620 (?) Plantavitius Pausanus.*

Pencilled on blank vellum leaf at end: *79 folios, J. Leveen, 31. vii. '46.*

Or. 11795

On a paper strip glued on the verso of the 1st flyleaf at end: *ex Libris Bibliotheca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Monspe*

Pencilled on fol. 30r: *30 folios, J. Leveen, 31.vii. '46.*

Details from sale notes on fol. 30: Daniel ben Avraham ben Shabbetai of Castro sold the manuscript to Yosef ben Yiṣḥaq da Traetto (now called Minturno); Moshe ben Yosef bought the manuscript from Elḥanan ben Yosef ha-Rofe da Traetto in March 1603.

Or. 11796

At foot of fol.2r:

a) *Kalendar in Hebr. Emi Roma 24 Nov. 1600 or 1620 (?) Plantavitius Pausa[nus]*

Pencilled on flyleaf at end: *93 folios, J. Leveen, 1. viii. '46.*

A cursory glance over the inscriptions recorded above reveals the following:

- Or. 11794 and Or. 11796 belonged to Jean Plantavit de la Pause, Bishop of Lodève
- Or. 11794 belonged also to Charles de Pradel, Bishop of Montpellier
- Charles de Pradel, owned five manuscripts, Or. 11791–Or. 11795
- Four of the manuscripts, Or. 11791–Or. 11794 bear an inscription in Latin and English dated 1780

5 Plantavit de la Pause and his library

The earliest known owner of ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (Or. 11794) and of the anonymous astronomical and calendrical tables (Or. 11796) was the eminent Christian Hebraist Jean Plantavit de la Pause, Bishop of Lodève (1576–1651), who, as the Latin notes penned in the objects indicate, bought them in Rome on November 24th 1600 or 1620.³⁸

His greatest literary achievement had been the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, a masterly Jewish bibliography that included 740 numbered entries and mentioned 803 Jewish books.³⁹ Born in 1576 into a Huguenot family, Plantavit converted to the

³⁸ Due to Plantavit's unclear handwriting the year he purchased both codices is uncertain. Leveen 1951/1952, 95–96, gives 1610 as the year of purchase.

³⁹ Burnett 2012, 158. Plantavit's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* was included in his major three volume work *Florilegium Rabbinicum: complectens praecipuas veterum rabbinorum sententias, versione*

Catholic faith in 1604, becoming Bishop of Lodève in 1625. He studied in France⁴⁰ and Italy obtaining two doctorates in theology. He learned rudimentary Hebrew at college in Nîmes, but following his conversion he resolved to improve and extend his Hebrew education.

During his stays in Florence and Venice, as part of a two-year grand tour of Europe, Plantavit was tutored in Hebrew and rabbinics by Leone da Modena (1571–1648), the notable Italian poet, scholar and rabbi, who also urged him to start his own Judaic collection.⁴¹ While residing in Rome, he was instructed in Hebrew and Aramaic by Domenico Gerosolimitano (1550–1620), a converted Rabbi⁴² and well-known expurgator of Hebrew books in the service of the Catholic Church. On his return to France, Plantavit continued fervently to deepen his knowledge of Hebrew, firstly under the instruction of Philippe Aquin (1575–1650), a Jewish convert who worked as lecturer of Hebrew at the University of Paris, and later with the famous Talmudist and keen astronomer Salomon Azubi (Solomon ben Judah Ezobi), the rabbi of Carpentras (from 1620 to 1635). The latter was often consulted when Plantavit was compiling his Hebrew-Aramaic lexicon *Plauta Vitis*.⁴³

Plantavit entertained a rich network of Jewish advisers, rabbis and scholars, both locally and overseas, among them Eli Mazal Tov of Modena, Avraham Yedidya Shalit of Ferrara, Mordekhai Ḥarizi of Cracow, rabbi at Prague synagogue, and Samuel Korphus of Salonica, rabbi of Klagenfurt, to name but a few.⁴⁴

It is estimated that by 1645 the Jewish component in Plantavit's personal library consisted of some 189 books and 36 manuscripts.⁴⁵ Following his death in 1651, the library was sold to his successor François Bosquet (1605–1676) an erudite clergyman, who became Bishop of Montpellier in 1655.⁴⁶ On Bosquet's passing the library transferred to his nephew and successor as bishop, Charles de Pradel (1644–1696), and, subsequently to the next in line Bishop of Montpellier, the reputed bibliophile Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy (1667–1738), who was *le Grand Colbert's* nephew and Jacques Nicolas Colbert's first cousin.

Latina et scholiis..., Lodève, 1644.

⁴⁰ At the universities of Nîmes, Geneva and Montpellier, before his conversion; after his conversion at the Jesuit colleges of Rouen and La Flèche, and lastly in Rome.

⁴¹ Burnett 2012, 155.

⁴² Formerly, Rabbi Samuel Vivas of Jerusalem. See the article by Gottfried Reeg to this volume.

⁴³ On Plantavit de la Pause and Solomon Ezobi see also Dukas 1885, 114–115, and Gross 1897, 611.

⁴⁴ Delcor 1979, 397.

⁴⁵ Burnett 2012, 155.

⁴⁶ François Bosquet, a Christian Hebraist himself, had previously been Bishop of Lodève (1648–1655); see Burnett 2012, 70.

In his will de Croissy left the library established by Plantavit and vastly augmented by the personal collections of three successive bishops, to the General Hospital of Montpellier, which auctioned it in its entirety in 1740. This amalgamated, composite library that consisted of upward of 13,000 items, was seemingly purchased by a librarian from Toulouse, who in turn sold it in separate lots.⁴⁷ It appears that significant items, including manuscripts, were acquired by English patrons, and some were eventually donated to prestigious English institutions.⁴⁸

Based on the aforementioned evidence and earlier observations, I would like to sum up my findings and propose a number of plausible explanations about the history of the manuscripts' ownership, starting from their completion in the 15th century until 1780:

- The manuscripts' ownership between the 15th and the 17th century, i.e. a period of about 200 years, remains shrouded in mystery.⁴⁹
- It is likely that Jacques Nicolas Colbert acquired five of the manuscripts from Charles de Pradel's collection; he acquired the anonymous calendrical and astronomical tables (Or. 11796) that formerly belonged to Plantavit, from a different source.
- Jacques Nicolas Colbert bound the manuscripts in brown leather stamping his insignia on the covers and added them to his private collection.
- Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy, Bishop of Montpellier obtained the six manuscripts from Jacques Nicolas Colbert either on loan or as a gift.
- Four of the manuscripts were in England in April 1780 (Or. 11791–Or. 11794) and are likely to have reached England before then; in all probability Or. 11795 and Or. 11796 also reached England earlier than 1780.
- In the inscription *D.Ev. Ap.10, 1780. From T.P. by Steph: H. Jun:y* which appears in Or. 11791–Or.11794, the initials T. P could stand for a very well-known London bookseller's business of the period, run by Thomas Payne and his son, another Thomas. The business later became Payne and Foss.⁵⁰ The bookseller acquired the manuscripts before 1780 most likely in France, then sold them off in England.
- So far I have not been able to find out what the initials *Steph: H. Jun* stand for, but I suspect they could be the buyer's initials.

⁴⁷ James 1913, ix; the fate of Plantavit's library is also mentioned in Burnett2012, 156.

⁴⁸ James 1913, ix; the fate of Plantavit's library is also mentioned in Burnett 2012, 156.

⁴⁹ The earliest sale note in Or.11795 is dated 1603.

⁵⁰ I am grateful to Dr Christopher Wright, former Head of the Western Manuscripts Department at the British Library, for supplying this information.

- The numbers inscribed in manuscripts Or. 11971–Or. 11972, Or. 11975–Or. 11976, i.e. 3730, 3726, 3729 and 3727 are likely to represent numbered entries in some kind of inventory or bookseller's list.
- Between April 1780 and July 1946 there is a lull of nearly 180 years without any records about the manuscripts' owners.
- Each manuscript contains a record of its folio numbers that was signed and dated by Jacob Leveen; the dates when Leveen completed foliating the manuscripts were 30–31 July and 1 August 1946.

6 The British Museum acquisition

The last chapter in the history of Jacques Nicolas Colbert's six Hebrew manuscripts ends with their arrival at the British Museum. Jacob Leveen, who at the time⁵¹ was keeper in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum, and whose name has been permanently inscribed in the objects themselves, announced their accession as follows:

Thanks to the good offices of the Inter-Allied Book Centre the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts was enriched in 1946 and 1947 by a number of Hebrew manuscripts, written on vellum and belonging to the fifteenth century [...]⁵²

What exactly was the Inter-Allied Book Centre and why did it decide to donate these unique and valuable hand-copied books to the British Museum?

On the 24th of September 1944, while the war was ravaging the whole of Europe, a praiseworthy organisation was formally opened at 3–5 Salisbury Square, in the city of London. This was the Inter-Allied Book Centre whose premises had formerly served as the headquarters of the Daily Chronicle newspaper.⁵³

The centre was essentially a huge repository for the sorting, allocation and distribution of about a million books intended for the restoration of war-stricken libraries in the allied countries. The opening ceremony marked the culmination of an exceptional five years mission that had involved a large number of cultural and governmental bodies. This noble operation had been put into motion thanks to the dynamic efforts of two key players, namely the Library Association of Great Britain and the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education.

⁵¹ J. Leveen retired in 1956.

⁵² Leveen 1951/52, 95.

⁵³ White/Welsford 1946, 57–62.

The latter sprang from an urgent need to address educational matters of common interest to the Allied governments, especially ways to assist the educational rebuilding of enemy-occupied countries. To that end it appointed the Books and Periodicals Commission whose main role was the post-war provision of books and periodicals in Europe.

As far back as 1941, shortly after the rage of the Battle of Britain had subsided, the Library Association started to consider steps for post-war library rehabilitation. It urged all libraries in Great Britain to consider the difficulties faced by libraries that had been damaged by enemy action, by not disposing of duplicates which could replace the stock that had been destroyed. A large number of books were thus retrieved to be distributed subsequently among affected libraries. Added to these were a considerable number of books, among them rare and irreplaceable specimen, that had been originally intended for pulping (serious paper shortages had instigated this activity), but, which were later rescued thanks to the intervention of the Council of the Library Association.

In 1943 the year the Inter-Allied Book Centre committee was set up, British universities and various learned, professional and research societies were asked to contribute copies of their journals, transactions and proceedings. The response was exceedingly sympathetic and thousands of collected items would eventually be delivered to British and European libraries that had been devastated by the war. It is beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate all the British libraries that had benefited from the untiring efforts of the Inter-Allied Book Centre. However, it is important to point out, that when allocating books to seriously damaged libraries at home, priority was given to those that served a wide public. The British Museum whose heavy losses amounted to 150,000 books and 30,000 volumes of bound newspapers, was given preferential treatment being 'generously allowed first choice of the books set aside for ruined libraries'.⁵⁴ As the only library in the country 'aiming at comprehensive coverage in every field of knowledge', the British Museum seemed the right home 'for any rare, curious and unique objects it did not already hold'.⁵⁵

The Inter-Allied Book Centre's gift of six unique 15th century Hebrew manuscripts that once belonged to Jacques Nicolas Colbert, the distinguished Archbishop of Rouen made its final journey to the British Museum sometime in 1945, and was accessioned in the library records in April 1946. As yet we have not been able to find out who was the generous individual or munificent learned society that decided to part with these treasures to help the war-stricken British libraries. Since 1972 the manuscripts have been part of the British Library's Hebrew collection.

⁵⁴ Library Association of the United Kingdom 1946, 11.

⁵⁵ Library Association of the United Kingdom 1946, 11.

7 Postscript

At the beginning of this essay I stated that it was Jacob Leveen who identified the crest displayed in the six manuscripts discussed here, as belonging to Jacques Nicolas Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen. But what if Leveen erroneously attributed that coat of arms to the wrong person? These qualms crossed my mind after I incidentally noticed that the Archbishop of Rouen and his cousin, the bibliophile Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy, shared, what appeared to be, a similar heraldic device. If Leveen was wrong, it could effectively mean that Jacques Nicolas Colbert had never been the owner of our manuscripts. In the hope of solving this enigma, my first course of action was to check out the Hebrew lots in the 1740 auction sale catalogue of de Croissy's collection⁵⁶, followed by a fresh examination of the relevant crests. Unfortunately, copies of the auction catalogue have been untraceable in major UK academic libraries, while travelling to Paris to consult the Arsenal Library's copy has not been possible. To my great relief, I was able to locate an on-line electronic version of this rare catalogue.⁵⁷

My search identified five lots that seemed to match five of the manuscripts I have discussed earlier.⁵⁸ The archaic Latin transliteration of the lots' Hebrew titles and the paucity of the lots' contents made the identification task slightly difficult. After some initial reservations, it became clear that our manuscripts had definitely been in de Croissy's ownership, prior to their sale in 1740.

I have thoroughly examined Jacques Nicolas Colbert's and Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy's individual heraldic devices, and I compared de Croissy's arms found on the incipit page of the aforementioned auction sale catalogue to those stamped on the manuscripts' covers. Although at first sight there is some resemblance, they actually differ a great deal, each presenting its own distinct characteristics. It is my conviction that the crest featured in our six codices is definitely Jacques Nicolas Colbert's, and therefore Jacob Leveen had been right all along.

In the course of my recent investigation I have come across Add 15437, a Hebrew manuscript the British Museum acquired from the bookseller Thomas Rudd (1796–1849) in 1845.⁵⁹ Copied in an Italian semi-cursive script of the 15th

⁵⁶ *Catalogus librorum bibliothecæ illustrissimi ac reverendissimi D.D. Caroli-Joachimi Colbert de Croissi, episcopi Montispessulani...* 1740.

⁵⁷ <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/cataloguevente/notice150.php>

⁵⁸ All except *Shesh Kenafayim* (Or. 11795).

⁵⁹ Since 1972 the manuscript has been part of the British Library's Hebrew collection; it has been catalogued in Margoliouth 1899.

century, the manuscript contains the incomplete text of *Shibole ha-Leqet* ('The Gleaned Ears'), a halakhic work by Šidqiyahu ben Avraham ha-Rofe (active 13th century), and an additional work by the same author. Interestingly, stamped in the centre of the leather blind-tooled covers, is the gilded emblem of Jacques Nicolas Colbert. Several Latin notes on fol. 236v reveal significant information about the manuscript's provenance.

The first note: *Ex Libris Bibliotheca D.D. Caroli De Pradel Episcops Montisp.* indicates that the codex had belonged to the library of Charles de Pradel, Bishop of Montpellier.

The second inscription: *MS on vellum ex Bibliotheca Colbertina* indicates that this vellum manuscript came from the Colbertina Library, i.e. the library of Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

The third and final note: *ex Bibliotheca, non J.B. Colbert, sed Caroli Joachimi Colbert Episcopi Montispessulani, quae A.D. 1740 publica subhastationis lege fuit divendita* clarifies that the codex did not actually derive from the library of Jean Baptiste Colbert, but from Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy's library which was sold in 1740. An *ex libris* label pasted on the inside of the back cover, indicates that the last owner of this halakhic hand copied book was Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773–1843), the sixth son of King George III.⁶⁰

8 Conclusion

The above findings reinforce my previous arguments that the six manuscripts under discussion had indeed belonged to Jacques Nicolas Colbert, ending up eventually in de Croissy's library. The exact circumstances of how, when and why the Archbishop of Rouen acquired these books continue to be, however, the subject of conjecture. Likewise, it remains unknown how exactly the items made their way into Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy's collection. The manuscripts are likely to have reached England not long after 1740, yet a great deal of mystery still hovers over the identities of their English owners, and their exact whereabouts between 1740 and 1946.

Despite the provenance uncertainties encountered so far, it is evident that there was a great interest in medieval Hebrew manuscripts among French Christian

⁶⁰ This manuscript as well as *Shesh Kenafayim* (Or. 11795) were both missing in the sale catalogue mentioned above. These omissions might be due to a genuine error on the part of the person who compiled the original catalogue, or, it may well be that the Internet version which I have consulted is flawed.

scholars from the 16th to the 18th century. The Hebrew language grew in importance during this period, while Hebrew studies influenced many areas of knowledge, from theology to philosophy, science and polemics. Many Hebrew texts had not been published in print, hence their increased value and significance to Christian intellectuals and bibliophiles who were keen to acquire them for their libraries.

Our six manuscripts have outlived five centuries of peregrinations changing hands multiple times before their final voyage and arrival to the British Museum library. The survival stories of Hebrew manuscripts are not dissimilar to those of the Jewish people. They are in fact closely linked and interconnected, testifying to a markedly diverse and trying history.

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Ronny Vollandt

Jacob Georg Christian Adler (1756–1834) and his Books

Abstract: Textual studies have always depended on the discovery of new manuscripts. Oriental scholarship in Germany and Denmark in the late 18th and early 19th century, on which this article focuses, not only actively promoted the search for new sources, but also developed new tools to describe, date and localise manuscripts in order to put them at the disposal of textual scholars. One particularly intriguing figure in this context is Jacob Georg Christian Adler (1756–1834), who studied – and actually physically examined – an unprecedented range of Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic manuscripts as a young scholar, which he consulted during his travels to the main libraries of Europe. While on this *peregrinatio academica*, he documented his observations in a number of notebooks, none of which have hitherto attracted attention or even been discussed. These notebooks show a scholar at work and record his thoughts on the manuscripts he consulted, particularly on the repository of texts they contained and on their physical appearance. He drew upon this preliminary work later in a number of books that he published. Adler perceived both aspects as being intrinsically connected and, indeed, inseparable, much in contrast to later research, which degraded the study of the material embodiment of texts to a mere *Hilfswissenschaft* (ancillary discipline).

The subsequent pages are concerned with the history of Oriental scholarship in Germany and Denmark in the late 18th and early 19th century. They follow the studious paths of Jacob Georg Christian Adler (1756–1834), an accomplished and meticulous philologist fascinated by all things Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic. Adler was a multifaceted figure indeed, hailing from a long line of reformed pastors and himself likewise a churchman committed to the ideas of the Enlightenment

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at a time of political turmoil in the wake of the French Revolution. As well as attending to religious duties, he was a translator of rabbinic literature, the author of one of the very first Syriac grammars to be written and a collector with a keen interest in Muslim coins and Arabic palaeography.

From his father, Adler had inherited the humanist mandate to return *ad fontes*; Georg Christian Adler had been a provost in the town of Altona, a theologian and a classicist who had toiled arduously in narrating the history of ancient Rome.¹ His son, however, discovered his main interest in the critical study of biblical texts, which the Reformation had made the prime engine of remaking Church and society and which had furthermore led him directly to Oriental philology. First came Hebrew and Syriac and then while at university he also devoted himself to studying Arabic with Oluf Gerhard Tychsen (1734–1815), a figure who would remain his life-long mentor. He recalls his occupation with these languages as ‘mein Lieblingsstudium’.² As a young scholar, Adler studied – and physically held – an unprecedented range of manuscripts, which he consulted during his travels to the main libraries of Europe. While on this *peregrinatio academica*, he documented his observations in a number of notebooks, none of which have hitherto attracted attention or even been discussed. Along with the manuscripts that he gathered, these are now housed at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (SUBHH), the Universitätsbibliothek Kiel (UBK) and partly at the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock (UBR). His notebooks are filled with text-critical annotations, linguistic meditations and descriptions of scripts, layouts and colophons. Glued-in slips of yellow tracing paper were intended to capture the different styles of writing and preserve the physical shape of handwritten books he perused for future reference. Occasionally, Adler slips into mundane matter, too, gathering notes about women, alcoholic drinks and tobacco. It is, however, their focus on the material state of Adler’s sources comparative codicology and palaeography, we would say today – that turns them into enlightening documents in terms of Oriental scholarship and, indeed, his intellectual biography and learned travels on the whole. These notebooks show a scholar at work and record his own scholarship: crammed with information and hastily written as the time he had to consult his sources was ever so short. He created them as a repository of texts and

1 Between 1775 and 1776, Georg Christian Adler edited and published Georg Christian Matern de Cilano’s *Ausführliche Abhandlung der römischen Alterthümer*, and between 1778 and 1779, he worked on the eight tomes of de Cilano’s translation *Des Titus Livius aus Padua Römische Geschichte*. Furthermore, he published *Ausführliche Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, mit 15 gefalteten Kupferstichen und Plänen*, between 1781 and 1782 and in 1783, there followed a work called *Nachricht von den Pomtinischen Sümpfen und deren Austrocknung mit einer genauen Charte derselben*.

2 Adler, Jacob Georg Christian 1783, 1.

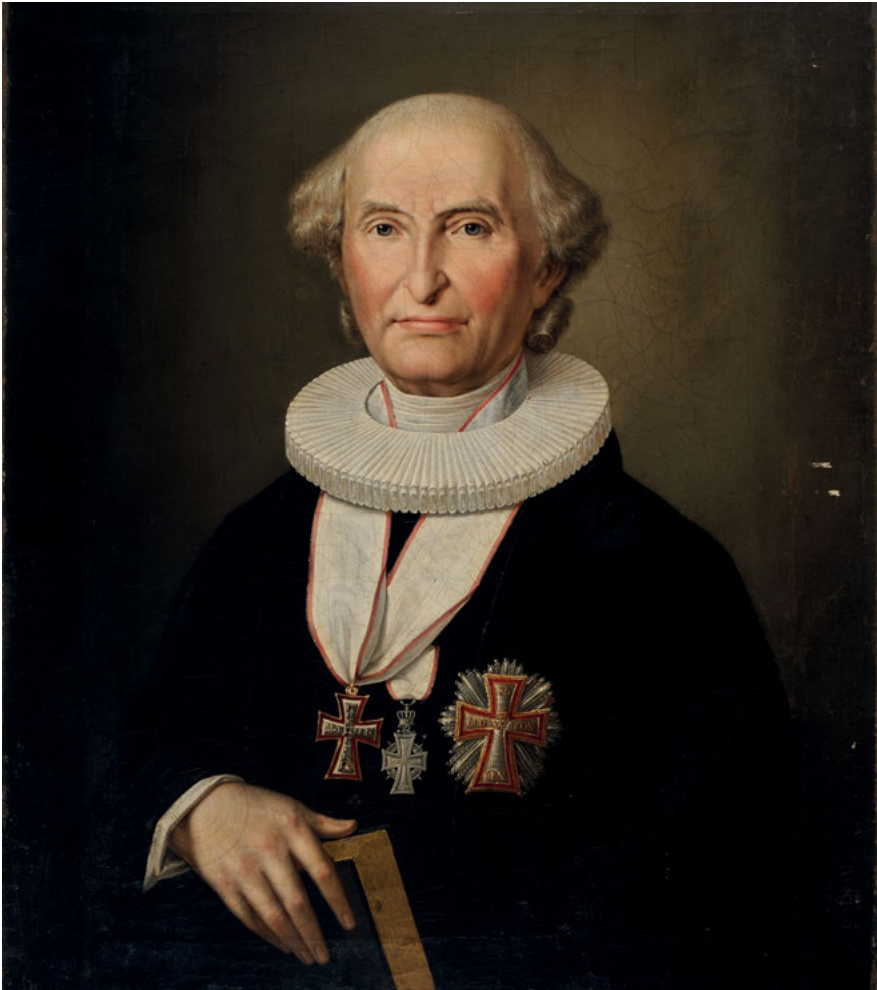


Fig. 1: Portrait of Adler by Carl Andreas August Goos (1797–1855): © Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek.

ideas, which he would later retrieve for his published books. This makes them interesting documents in view of the humanist practice of note-taking.³

Like every scholar, Jacob Adler was buried twice in a sense – physically, at his final resting place in Giekau not far from Lütjenburg in Schleswig-Holstein, and ‘virtually’ many a time after that in the learned footnotes of later generations

³ To mention just two examples here, see Blair 2010a, and Blair 2010b.

of scholars as most of his discoveries had become received knowledge by the 19th century. As scholarship moves on and so does time's devouring lust, his contribution inevitably falls into oblivion. Adler lives on in modern memory mostly as an enlightened reformer of the Protestant Church in Schleswig-Holstein, a clergyman whose name became associated with a new prayer book (*Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchenagende*, 1797) and a re-organisation of the school system 1814.⁴ By singling out Adler's Oriental studies, my contribution to this volume only covers a small, albeit central, aspect of his legacy. It is meant as an initial outline of his intellectual biography (which has yet to be written) and of the archival and manuscript sources available at the time.

1 His early life

Little is known about Adler's life apart from the few lines that a number of obituaries and entries in lexicons of learned men relate, repeating each other without adding any new sources.⁵ He was born on 8 December 1756 in Arnis, Schleswig (part of the kingdom of Denmark at the time) and was one of a total of six children. His parents were Georg Christian Adler (1724–1804) and Johanna Elisa Schulze (1729–1806). His father, born in Alt-Brandenburg, ministered at a church there. In 1759, Georg Christian Adler was appointed provost of the parishes of Altona and Pinneberg at the Church of St Trinitatis. The family moved to Altona as a result.

His father supervised the education of his sons himself and became Adler's first major influence. He maintained the opinion that every chaplain 'who thinks highly of himself had his own Jew, from whom he learnt Hebrew and on whom he practised his missionary skills'.⁶ He therefore sent his two older sons, Jacob Georg Christian and Johann Christoph Georg (b. 1758), to the Jewish community in Altona to study Hebrew. In a letter dated 12 February 1772, Adler's father recounts:

⁴ On the reform of the the school system, see Schöler 1977.

⁵ Cf. Ehrencron-Müller 1924–1939, vol. 1, 64; Schmidt 1836, 634–637; Brickam 1887, vol. 1, 101–105; Bickell 1875, vol. 1, 85–86; Steinschneider 1896; Striedl 1953; and Göbell 1958. There is also a further work that was compiled only eight years after Adler's death and is a valuable source of information on his life: Friedrichsen 1842.

⁶ '[J]eder Pastor, der etwas auf sich hielt, [hatte] seinen Juden, bei dem er Hebräisch lernte und an dem er seine Bekehrungskünste übte'; letter to Tychsen, 12 February 1772: UBR, Mss. orient. 284(4).

Ob meine Söhne noch ein bisschen *Gemore* lernen werden, stehet dahin. Sie haben schon mit ein paar Rebbi gesprochen, die wissen aber nicht, ob es erlaubt wäre, ihnen Unterricht zu erteilen. Sie wollen aber nun vom Emdener Rabbi ein Gutachten einholen.⁷

I don't know whether my sons will study the *Gemore* a bit more. They have already spoken to a number of rabbis, who doubt whether it would be permissible to teach them. They are now seeking expert advice from Rabbi Emden [i.e. Jacob Emden, 1697–1776].

At the time of writing this letter, Adler was sixteen and his brother, Johann Christoph Georg, fourteen. The letter indicates that they had both been learning Hebrew and studying Jewish literature with members of the Jewish community in Altona for a while. The request to Jacob Emden seems to have been answered positively. While the letters remain silent with regard to this matter, he would soon embark on his study of the Talmudic tractates (see below). Jacob b. Zevi Emden became known on account of a controversy that developed with Jonathan Eybenschütz (1690–1764), chief rabbi of 'the Three Communities' (Altona, Hamburg and Wandsbek), which ignited over the former's alleged inclination to Sabbateanism. Emden appeared to be a 'proto-*maskil*' and maintained a position he had adopted from rational philosophy.⁸

Adler's father also instructed him in Syriac:

Weil uns das Arabische zu bunt war, so machten wir uns an das Syrische. Ich half ein wenig mit, bis sie etwas lesen konnten: nun aber, da sie mehr Zeit haben, daran zu wenden als ich, sind sie mir vorbeigekommen und haben schon ein gutes Stück aus dem Syrischen N.T. vor sich explicirt.⁹

Since we felt [learning] Arabic was going too far, we dedicated ourselves to Syriac. I assisted them [i.e. the sons] a little until they were able to read a little. But since they have more time on their hands than I do to work on it, they got ahead of me and can already interpret a good deal of the N.T. in Syriac.

The letters written by Adler's father were addressed to Oluf Gerhard Tychsen, a close associate of the family and professor of Oriental languages at the University of Büttow at the time. It is Tychsen who appears to have introduced Adler to the Jewish community in Altona – on his father's initiative, it seems – and he was to remain his teacher and mentor his entire life. In the years to come, he not only established his academic fields of interest and his approach to sources, but

⁷ Letter to Tychsen, 12 February 1772: UBR, Ms. orient. 284(4).

⁸ On the controversy and the importance of Jacob Emden, see Graupe 1977.

⁹ 22 December 1772, UBR, Ms. orient. 284(1).

Lectionentabelle.

Stunden.	Montags.	Dienstags.	Mittwochs.	Selecta.	Donnerstags.	Freitags.	Sonnabends.
den 8 bis 9.	Naturgeschichte.	Naturgeschichte.	Experimentalnaturleh.	Französisch.	Das Neue Testament.	Das Neue Testament.	
9 - 10.	Mathematik.	Mathematik.	Mathematik.	Metaphysik.	Metaphysik.	Metaphysik.	
10 - 11.	Heineccii fund. illi.	Cic. Quæst. Tuscul.	Ciceronis quæst. Tusc.	Heineccii fund. illi.	Horatii Epistolæ.	Horatii epistolæ.	
11 - 12.	Geschichte.	Geschichte.	Experimentalnaturleh.	Hebräisch.	Hebräisch.	Conferenz.	
2 - 3.	Xenophontis Cyropædia.	Xenophon. Cyropæd.	Xenophontis Cyropæd.	Xenophon. Cyropæd.	Nieuporti antiq. rom.		
3 - 4.	Thompsons Miscellaneæ.	Thompsons Miscellaneæ.	Miltons Paradise lost		Französisch.		
Prima.							
8 - 9.	Erdbeschreibung.	Erdbeschreibung.	Naturlehre.	Französisch.	Das Neue Testament.	Das Neue Testament.	
9 - 10.	Ovidii Metamorphos.	Ovidii Metamorph.	Ovidii Metamorphos.	Gesneri Chrest. Cic.	Gesneri Chrest. Cic.	Stilübungen.	
10 - 11.	Gesneri Chrest. gr.	Gesneri Chrest. gr.	Mathesis.	Mathesis.	Liuius.	Liuius.	
11 - 12.	Geschichte.	Geschichte.	Naturlehre.	Hebräisch.	Hebräisch.		
2 - 3.	Naturgeschichte.	Naturgeschichte.	Fundamentale hebr.	Fundamentale hebr.	Deutsche Musarbeit.		
3 - 4.	Englisch.	Englisch.	Englisch.	Englisch.	Französisch.		
Secunda.							
8 - 9.	Religionsunterricht.	Religionsunterricht.	Historiæ selectæ.	Historiæ selectæ.	Biblische Geschichte.	Biblische Geschichte.	
9 - 10.	Cornelius Nepos.	Cornelius Nepos.	lat. Stilübungen.	Französisch.	Französisch.	lateinische Stilübung.	
10 - 11.	Amusemens philol.	Amusemens philolog.	Hepnag Sprachlehre.	Büschingii liber. lat.	Büschingii lib. lat.	Deutsche Sprachüb.	
11 - 12.	Aeliani hist. var.	Aeliani hist. var.	Eulgers Vorübungen.	Freyeri fasc. lat.	Freyeri fascic. lat.		
2 - 3.	Büschingii lib. lat.	Phædri fab.		Phædri fabulæ.	Büschingii lib. lat.		
3 - 4.	Geschichte.	Geschichte.		Geographie.	Geographie.		
Tertia.							
8 - 9.	Religionsunterricht.	Religionsunterricht.	Historiæ selectæ.	Historiæ selectæ.	Biblische Geschichte.	Biblische Geschichte.	
9 - 10.	lat. Sprachlehre.	lat. Sprachlehre.	Milleri Chrest. lat.	Französisch.	Französisch.	Milleri chrest. lat.	
10 - 11.	Eutropius.	Eutropius.	Deutsche Grammatic.	Büschingii lib. lat.	Büschingii lib. lat.	Griech. Sprachlehre.	
11 - 12.	Aelianus.	Aelianus.	Eulgers Vorübungen.	Milleri Chrest. lat.	Milleri chrest. lat.		
2 - 3.	Büschingii lib. lat.	Phædri fabulæ.		Phædrus.	Büschingii lib. lat.		
3 - 4.	Geschichte.	Geschichte.		Erdbeschreibung.	Erdbeschreibung.		

Fig. 2: Adler's lessons at the Christianeum 1777. <http://www.christianeum.org/images/stories/schulpr.chr.1777.lektionen2.jpg>. © Christianeum Hamburg.

also introduced him to a tightly-knit network of international scholars. Tychsel, who was born in Tondern in Schleswig in 1734, received his early education between 1750 and 1756 by attending a school in Altona called the Christianeum, a *gymnasium academicum*.¹⁰ Hebrew had been part of his curriculum since he had attended Latin school, and at the Christianeum he was tutored in this subject by the headmaster himself, Johann Christoph Sticht.¹¹ While he was a pupil there, he maintained close ties with the Jewish community and was even admitted to attend their own school in Altona. Rabbi Eybenschütz became his teacher in rabbinics and the Talmud.¹² Tychsel was a hard-working student of Jewish life and Judaism

¹⁰ See the note on his entry to the Christianeum in Elsner 1998, 60 (n. 209). The most extensive scholarly investigation on Tychsel's intellectual biography to date is French 1984. His writing is currently being digitised and catalogued as part of a DFG-funded project; cf. http://www.ub.uni-rostock.de/ub/xDLib/tychsel_xen.shtml.

¹¹ Sticht obtained his doctorate on the subject of *qere* and *ketiv*: *Dissertatio de Keri et Ketibh vocabulis*, 1760. Tychsel corresponded with him throughout his later life; cf. for example, UBR, Ms. orient. 284(12), fols 313–314.

¹² French 1984, 5 and 17.

with interests ranging from Jewish texts, languages and customs to legal practice from biblical times up to his own. Furthermore, he acquired a fair command of Yiddish and Portuguese while in Altona. In 1756, he embarked on his study of rabbinics at the University of Halle, where he also made his first acquaintance with Adler's father, Georg Christian Adler.¹³ Both men were associated with the pietistic movement connected to the *Franckesche Stiftungen*. As a delegate of the *Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum*, a pietistic missionary organisation, he then journeyed through Germany and Denmark in 1759 and 1760 on a fruitless mission to convert the Jews who lived there. In the second year, he was employed as a Hebrew lecturer (*magister legens*) at the newly founded University of Bützow in Mecklenburg. His appointment was at the behest of Frederick II, Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, whom he tutored in Hebrew from then on. Three years later, and under the patronage of Johann Christoph Döderlein, founding provost of the university, he was appointed as a full professor of Oriental languages (*linguae orientalis*). He remained there for some years until the university ceased to exist (1789), then became chief librarian and director of Rostock Museum. As a scholar, Tychsen owed his reputation to many achievements, to his erudition in the fields of rabbinics, Yiddish, Syriac, and Arabic literature. He kept up a daunting amount of intellectual correspondence with all the principal scholars in his field, such as Giuseppe Simone Assemani, Stefano Borgia, Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi and Carsten Niebuhr.¹⁴

Jacob Adler and his brother Johann were engaged in correspondence with Tychsen in Hebrew and Yiddish as early as 1772. Jacob demonstrated his excellent mastery of both languages in these letters. In the first one to Tychsen, he wishes him a happy new year and brags of his progress in writing in Hebrew and in learning the *leshon ha-qodesh* 'by conversing with the Jews'.¹⁵ The letter also mentions a visit that Tychsen paid to Altona when Jacob was just four years old, on the occasion of which he taught him, as Adler recalls, the Hebrew expression *יראת אלהים ראשית חכמה* (sic!), i.e. 'the awe of God is the beginning of wisdom'. Subsequent letters also give one the impression that he was passionate about Jewish knowledge and the Hebrew language. Furthermore, like Tychsen before him and probably as a result of his intercession, his teachers were among the most esteemed members of Altona's Jewish community. Although Jacob and his brother do not seem to have

¹³ On his teachers there, see French, 1984.

¹⁴ On his correspondence with Niebuhr, see Krieger 2002, and on his correspondence with Borgia, see Stuijver 2009.

¹⁵ Dated 19 January 1772 (14 Shevat [5]532); cf. UBR, Ms. orient. 267b, fols 261–262. A letter by his brother, dated 13 April 1772 (10 Nisan [5]532), is in UBR, Ms. orient. 267b, fols 259–260.



Fig. 3: State and University Library Hamburg, Cod. theol. 1027a, fol. 1r.
© State and University Library Hamburg.

been tutored by Emden directly, we know they received tuition in Hebrew and Yiddish from members of his circle of colleagues and acquaintances. His teacher, Jacob b. Reuben the Elder, is described as a decent man, yet a bit opaque, ‘like all Jews’.¹⁶ He taught Adler Hebrew and rabbinic literature as well as serving him and Tytsen as a broker for Hebrew books and Islamic coins (see below).¹⁷ A letter by Adler’s brother, Johann, also mentions that they visited Jacob Emden, who was frail and almost blind by that time.¹⁸

¹⁶ Dated 3 February 1772: UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 241–242.

¹⁷ However, in UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 323–324, Adler’s brother speaks about another book dealer, Moshe Rotenburg from Hamburg. What’s more, in UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 247–248, he mentions having acquired Johann Christoph Sticht’s private library. With regard to Islamic coins, several letters mention their acquisition; cf. UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 243–244 and 249–250.

¹⁸ UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 323–324.

The curriculum consisted of a *Minhagim* book in Yiddish and the 613 *mizvot*, the midrash *Leqah Tov*, and a work named *Seder Tiqqune Sheṭarot*¹⁹ in Hebrew. In 1773, at the young age of seventeen, Adler published a German translation of the latter (*Seder Tiqqune Sheṭarot Sammlung von gerichtlichen jüdischen Contracten: Rabbinisch und Deutsch*), which came to fruition as a direct result of his studies with his teacher Jacob, one could argue.²⁰

In the year 1774, Adler and his brother were admitted to the Christianeum, just like Tychsen before them.²¹ Founded by King Christian VI within the greater Danish kingdom, the school effectively served as a university despite it only being a *gymnasium academicum*; in fact, it was second only to the University of Copenhagen. When the great Danish kingdom incorporated the city of Kiel in 1773, the Christianeum lost its royal privileges to the University of Kiel. Adler enrolled in Theology and Oriental Languages there, but only stayed at the university until 1777 when he moved to the newly founded University of Bützow.²² It was here that he proceeded to study Arabic. Thanks to his knowledge of Hebrew, which he shared with nearly all the other German Orientalists at the time, and his grasp of Syriac, the structure of Arabic must have been quite easy for him to pick up.²³ Most of his studies, however, seem to have concentrated on rabbinic literature and the Babylonian Talmud. While still in Kiel, he prepared a German translation of the tractate called *Pesaḥim*, along with the commentaries provided by Rashi and the Tosafot. This work was not published, but is now archived as SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a. The three quires (each with three bifolia) contain a fair copy with the final layout and pagination and bear the title *Der Talmudische Traktat vom Osterfeste mit der Erklärung des Raschi und den Tosephot in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt* (Kiel, 1776). The upper part of the page displays the Mishna and Gemara. Rashi's

19 This text can be identified with a work bearing this very title and printed in Amsterdam (1721), cf. http://rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE119511.

20 In UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 249–250, dated 23 February 1772, Adler mentions that the final proof of the book will arrive tomorrow. The printing had been planned to take place soon after Pesach; see UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 243–244. Steinschneider called the whole work 'ein interconfessioneller Betrug', Steinschneider 1896, 113.

21 Elsner 1998, 99 (n. 428 and n. 429).

22 The entry in the university's list of students can be seen here: <http://purl.uni-rostock.de/matrikel/100011848>.

23 It is unclear whether he was instructed in Arabic while he was still in Altona. His father, in the letter quoted above, preferred Syriac and had rejected Arabic as part of the two sons' curriculum. A letter to Tychsen by his brother, UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 323–324, dated September 1774, mentioned they had finally found someone who could translate from Arabic.

comments on the left and the Tosefot's remarks on the right face each other on the lower part. It is unclear why this scholarly work was never published.

While he was attending the University of Bützow, his focus was also on the Talmud. The same manuscript mentioned above – SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a – shows his study notes on the tractate *Yoma*, based on the commentaries of Rashi and 'Ovadya Bartenura. The frontispiece displays the title *Ad libellum Mischnico-Talmudicum Joma* (Altona, 1778). In 1779, Adler published a Latin translation of and a commentary on *Massekhet Soferim* (*Judaeorum Codicis sacri rite scribendi leges, e libello Thalmudico Massechet Soferim in lat. conversae*, 1779). The translation is based on the Wilna-Romm edition of the Babylonian Talmud, to which the tractate is appended. His interest seems to go back to his years of studying in Altona's Jewish community. Jacob Emden had prepared a commentary on the same text some years earlier, notably academic in its approach and dealing with manuscript readings, so Adler's choice does not seem to have been incidental.²⁴ In the same year, Adler was permitted to proceed to his doctoral examination, as we see from Tychsen's request to the faculty.²⁵ A later note on the document, however, states that the process was brought to a halt and never completed; Adler's father had insisted he should return to Altona for reasons that are no longer clear.²⁶

As it turned out, the period between 1780 and 1782 was to become Adler's most formative – one in which his focal point in scholarship shifted to Syriac and Arabic. He found a potent patron in Ove Høegh-Guldberg, a Danish professor of Theology, but also a statesman and *de facto* prime minister of Denmark from 1772 to 1784. Adler's father had recommended him to the Danish statesman, who had owed him a favour ever since the former had acquired an important collection of Islamic coins on the latter's behalf at an auction in Altona. Adler had carried out an inventory and composed a description of the auctioned coins as he had developed an interest in Islamic coinage early on in his career, which he shared with his teacher, Tychsen. Some early samples of his occupation can be found in SUBHH, Cod. orient. 173a.²⁷ As a return gesture, he was invited to come to Copenhagen on an extended visit under the auspices of his new patron, where a group of early Quranic fragments from the Abbasid period that had

²⁴ Cf. Blank 1999, 21 and 25.

²⁵ Cf. UBR, Ms. orient. 284(1), fols 316–317.

²⁶ Friedrichsen 1842, 551, speaks of 'irksome things' ('Verdrießlichkeiten'), which had forced Adler's father to do so.

²⁷ In a letter to Tychsen dated 28 October 1774 (UBR, Ms. orient. 284(1), fol. 30), Adler's father speaks about the descriptions of Islamic coins that his son had written and sends him tracings of the coins.

recently entered the Royal Library attracted his interest. Whereas all his earlier studies had been based on printed material, Adler was now drawn to earlier, unpublished texts in the form of manuscripts and their ancient scripts, a subject for which he developed a voracious scholarly appetite and in which he was to develop considerable expertise. Manuscripts became a required source of study, to be met with focused devotion. His detailed attention to the material aspects of hand-copied texts, which was to become an important aspect of his work, clearly sets him apart from his teacher Tychsen, who depended on printed books and transcripts of manuscripts that others had prepared for him.

In 1780, he published a study of the fragments in his *Descriptio Codicum quorundam cuficorum partes Corani exhibentium in Bibliotheca Regia Hafniensi et ex iisdem de Scriptura Cufica Arabum observationes novae: praemittitur disquisitio generalis de Arte Scribendi apud Arabes ex ipsis auctoribus arabicis iisque adhuc ineditis*.²⁸ Adler supplemented his description with tables, facsimiles, palaeographic charts and an analysis of orthography and vocalisation systems.²⁹ Such early Quranic manuscripts were scarce in Europe at that time; prior to Adler, only Niebuhr had brought a sample back from his travels and few copies were to be found in Paris.³⁰ Niebuhr, like other scholars before him, had called the script 'Kufic', i.e. from Kufa, a term that Adler also found corroborated in the works of mediaeval Arab authors and that became widely accepted in the 18th century. Furthermore, he compared the fragments, which can be identified with Copenhagen, Royal Library, Cod. Arab. 36–42 today, with Abraham Hinckelmann's edition of the Quran (1694)³¹ and added text-critical notes. Adler's study is prefaced with a chronological survey of Arabic scripts that became the foundation of Arabic palaeography.³²

28 He had been discussing his finds with Tychsen ever since the summer of 1779, cf. French 1984, 68–69.

29 Cf. Perho 2007, 86–108. The fragments were in the possession of Friedrich Buchwald (1605–1676), who acquired them on his journeys, and came into the Library's possession during the reign of King Christian VII (1766–1808).

30 Adler refers to Niebuhr's *Beschreibung von Arabien*, which contains samples of a Kufic codex, plates IV and V, and quotes a letter by Étienne Fourmont, professor of Arabic at the Collège de France, in which he described the Parisian fragments, cf. *Descriptio Codicum*, 22–23. De Phélo had sent traced copies of the four sample folios in Copenhagen to Fourmont earlier on. See Déroche 1980.

31 Hinckelmann 1694.

32 Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy followed his approach in de Sacy 1808. See Déroche 1980 for an appraisal of Adler's contribution to Arabic palaeography.

In the same year, Adler received a royal travel stipend on Høegh-Guldberg's recommendation and, equipped with a letter of reference from Tychsen, was dispatched on a mission to peruse biblical manuscripts in all the major libraries of Europe. Høegh-Guldberg, drawn by the idea of composing a new Danish translation of the Greek New Testament (which would eventually be published in 1794), was eager to include new text-critical sources. A number of scholars contributed to this project, among them Adler, Friedrich Münter and Andreas Birch, who received two stipends between 1781 and 1784.³³ The money provided Adler with the financial means to embark on a *peregrinatio academica*.

2 His *peregrinatio academica*

Adler's journey took place over the period between 27 June 1780 and 27 August 1782 and initially took him southwards from Altona to various German towns and cities (Wolfenbüttel, Nuremberg and Altdorf), then to Austria (Vienna), Italy (Venice, Padua, Mantua, Parma, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Florence again and Milan), France (Paris) and, eventually, the Netherlands (Leiden and Amsterdam). While in Venice, he met Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, for whom Tychsen had prepared a letter of introduction. De Rossi invited him to Parma and granted him access to his collection of manuscripts. In Rome, Adler maintained a close friendship with Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who was secretary of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* at the time.

In 1783, shortly after his return, Adler published a general academic survey of his travels entitled *Jacob Georg Christian Adler: Kurze Übersicht seiner biblisch-kritischen Reise nach Rom* in honour of the king of Denmark, who had acted as his patron and funded his travels. The volume may be described as a learned itinerary that relates information on the destinations that Adler visited as a philologist and humanist antiquarian. The account includes dates, distances and means of transport as well as being an eloquent description of the major architectural and cultural attractions in each city and outlining the everyday life of its inhabitants. Furthermore, he presents the reader with details of local universities, learned societies and manuscript collections, keeping a log of the scholars he met and the most exciting manuscript discoveries he made during his journey. What is

³³ Adler and Birch published their text-critical observations on the New Testament in 1788 as a gesture of gratitude under the general editorship of Høegh-Guldberg: *Quatuor Evangelia Graece: cum variantibus a textu lectionibus*.

more, Adler was a close observer of the local Jewish communities, furnishing notes on their origins and languages in use. His accounts on Jewish settlements outside a closed-off Ghetto in Italy and on the admission of Jews to the University of Padua, are brought as samples of political and cultural inclusion promised by emancipation, which he must have felt unfulfilled in his native Schleswig-Holstein. A year later, his brother Johann furnished an expanded version of the travel itinerary intended for a more general audience: *Reisebemerkungen aus einer Reise nach Rom: Aus einem Tagebuche hrsg. von seinem Bruder, Johann Christoph Georg Adler*. This work dispenses with most of the academic details.

Much of Adler's active scholarship during this period remained in his notebooks, however – hitherto unknown and hence unpublished. Filled with reading-notes and excerpts, and now kept in Hamburg and Kiel, this material displays his desire for painstaking philological precision. It captures his various fields of interest, keeps track of the many manuscripts he perused along with their scripts, and is hence an important source of information on Adler's intellectual development from his time as a student to him becoming an independent and highly respected scholar of Semitic literature. Adler's notebooks show him at different stages of 'knowledge in the making', partly in the process of storing and sorting records, hastily and in rushed handwriting, and partly making a clear attempt to organise, cross-reference and accumulate his ideas with a view to publishing them later.³⁴

Although his notebooks seem to fall neatly into the two separate categories just mentioned, they actually share a number of characteristics as well. They are penned on paper, either single sheets of various sizes or pre-made booklets (mostly acquired from stationery shops in Rome, as the watermarks seem to imply), and are written in various languages: German, Latin and Italian, often interchanging freely in one and the same document. Adler fluently employed the Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic scripts, all of which had been familiar to him since his early studies, and he also possessed basic writing skills in Coptic, which he learnt from a monk in Rome; his notes on Coptic grammar can still be seen in SUBHH, Cod. orient. 277a. Furthermore, we know that two notebooks that have now been lost dealt with biblical matter in Coptic.³⁵ Among other scripts and languages, they included discussions of Samaritan (UBK, Cod. ms. ori 4 and – now lost – SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1338a), Armenian (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a, XIV and XV), Iberian (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a, III), Judaeo-Persian (SUBHH,

³⁴ The term 'knowledge in the making' has been borrowed from Hoffmann/Wittmann 2013.

³⁵ *Catalogus bibliothecae Rabbinicae et orientalis quam reliquit Jacob Georg Christian Adler* 1836, 33–34, items 13–15 (see below).

Cod. theol. 1466, fols 61v–63v), Pahlavi (SUBHH, Cod. orient. 277a, fols 7–8), Palmyrene (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a, XVI and Cod. theol. 1466, fols 171r–173r), Phoenician and Parthian (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466, fols 174r–177r).

The first category includes his rough study notes, which he took in a hasty hand and often on single leaves of paper. SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a (III–XIX), for example, contains various topics ranging from the mundane to the scholarly: lists of tobacco and alcoholic drinks, notes on how to address Roman clergymen, exercises in Italian, and notes on manuscripts. SUBHH, Cod. orient. 17d mostly contains excerpts from Arabic manuscripts on a broad range of subjects, the notes on geography, history and liturgy being taken on corresponding occasions. SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466 appears to have been his main travel notebook (except for fols 165r–213v, which contain independent notes) as it documents – in quite a chronological order – his work on biblical manuscripts in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic stemming from the various collections that he viewed. The focus is on textual criticism here and includes long lists of collations. Slips of yellow-coloured tracing paper glued between the pages preserve a visual record in the form of palaeographic samples and transcriptions of colophons.

The second kind of notebook presents expanded and neatly copied notes on one particular subject, well arranged for future publication. Two such examples are SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1346a and UBK, Cod. ms. ori 2, both of which deal with the Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic versions of the Gospels. Large parts of them constitute the penultimate stage of the writing process – the one before making the final fair copy – in preparation for Adler's *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae*, which we shall return to shortly.

Despite the care and dedication with which he pursued the study of the Talmud in his earlier years, this field of interest is conspicuously absent in his notebooks. A number of other subjects are discussed several times. His preoccupation with the Syriac Gospels, for example, is apparent in almost all of his notebooks (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466, Cod. theol. 1346a, Cod. orient. 17d, fols 7–8; and UBK, Cod. ms. ori 2). This interest went back to his very first years of study under the tutelage of his father and would become the field to which Adler made his most lasting contribution. Furthermore, he systematically consulted Arabic translations of the Pentateuch and transcribed entire manuscripts, such as the Old Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch (UBK, Cod. ms. ori 4). Although he obtained a transcription of an additional manuscript from the Bodleian Library later, which pertained to another type of translation (cf. UBK, Cod. ms. ori 6), his work remained unpublished. What's more, SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466 contains notes on various recensions of Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, to which the discussion also returned in his *Kurze Übersicht* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mss. Or. 57, fols 128v–130v, and Or. 112, fols 128r–128v; Vatican,

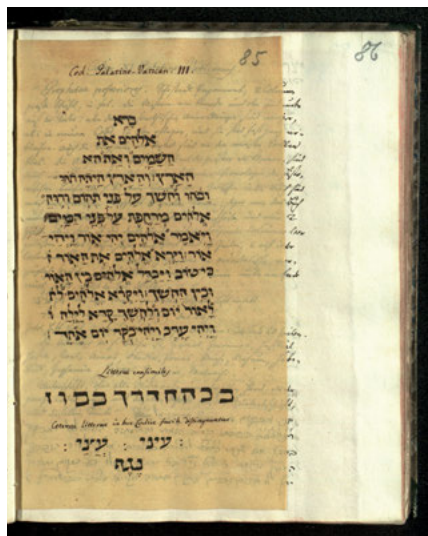


Fig. 4: State and University Library Hamburg, Cod. theol. 1466, fol. 85r, Hebrew palaeographic sample. © State and University Library Hamburg.

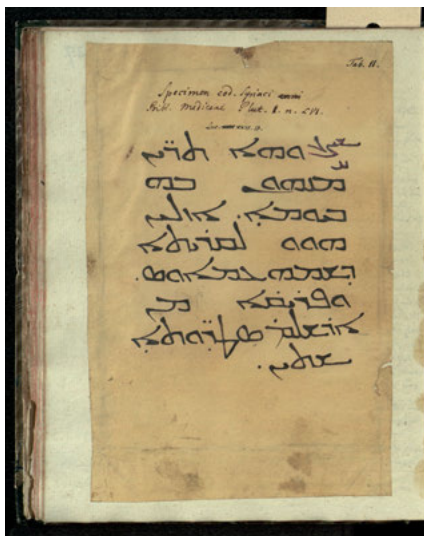


Fig. 5: State and University Library Hamburg, Cod. theol. 1466, fol. 37v, Syriac palaeographic sample. © State and University Library Hamburg.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Ms. Borg. ar. 129, fols 116r–118v; London, British Library (BL), Ms. Add. 11855 (previously at the Library of the Propaganda Fide), fols 119v–121v; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Ms. Ar. 1, fols 149r–149v).

Historiographic texts in Arabic also take a prominent place in his notes (e.g. SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466, 153r–164v; SUBHH, Cod. orient. 17d, fols 3–6). Adler gathered excerpts from Marʿī ibn Yūsuf al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (SUBHH, Cod. orient. 17d, fols 1–2), al-Maqrizī (SUBHH, Cod. orient. 17d, fols 8–17) and historiographic work on the Samaritans (UBK, Cod. ms. ori 5). In addition to this, he obtained Johann Jacob Reiske's own transcription of Abū al-Fidā's (d. 732/1331) *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh*, copied on 8 June 1745 and based on Leiden, University Library, Ms. Ar. 554, which he compared with the original during his travels (UBK, Cod. ms. ori 17). From 1789 to 1794, he published Reiske's draft in five volumes together with his own emendations of it: *Abulfedae annales moslemici arabice et latine*.

Lastly, another focus of his was on Islamic coinage (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a, VII and IX). While Tytsen, who had been studying Islamic coins since 1765, first in Bützow and then Rostock, relied on limited samples found in Viking treasure troves in Northern Germany, Adler was allowed access to Stefano Borgia's numismatic cabinet in Velletri during his travels owing to his close friendship

with him.³⁶ This privilege eventually turned him into the foremost expert on the subject. A study on Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Ayyubid and Seljuk coinage from the Borgia collections including palaeographic charts was published in 1782 as *Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris Illustravit*.³⁷

A recurring topic and, in fact, the most striking feature in his notes is Adler's close observation of the material embodiment, i.e. the physical form, of his sources. A telling illustration of this can be found in SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466, fol. 131, onto which he sewed a fragment of the manuscript binding he was describing. It is this approach – which is also palpable in his publication of the Copenhagen Quran fragments, with which he set the foundations of Arabic palaeography – that demonstrates that his interest clearly transcended the texts that manuscripts contained. His notes imply that he studied the manuscripts as a whole, both in terms of their textual and physical aspects. Adler carefully sorted different scripts, established chronologies and pondered on criteria for localising and dating them – also with regard to Hebrew and Syriac. For almost all of the manuscripts he analysed, he produced palaeographic samples that he traced on transparent, yellowish paper and attached to his notes.

In the case of Syriac, he differentiated between Estrangelo, Serto and Eastern scripts and provided – almost *en passant* – the first study of Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Hebrew manuscripts were divided into German, i.e. Ashkenazic, and Spanish, i.e. Sephardic, according to their handwriting. Painfully aware of his imperfect grasp of Hebrew scripts, he envisioned a larger, systematic study:

Die hebräischen Codices lassen sich also nicht füglich in Classen nach verschiedenen Epochen ihres Alters setzen. Aber es wäre der Mühe werth, sie nach den verschiedenen Ländern, wo sie geschrieben worden, einzuteilen.³⁸

The Hebrew codices cannot be arranged easily into groups according to their age. However, it would be worth the effort to sort them according to the various countries they were copied in.

3 A professor in Copenhagen

Upon his return to Copenhagen in 1783, Høegh-Guldberg's patronage led to Adler's appointment as Professor of Syriac at the University of Copenhagen.

³⁶ See for example, Heidemann 2005.

³⁷ A second volume followed in 1792. On Borgia's celebrated collection, the *Museum Borgianum*, see Nocca 2001.

³⁸ Adler, Jacob Georg Christian 1783, 11.

Soon after that, in 1784, Adler published the first two instalments of a series of works that rely heavily on his consultations of manuscripts: *Nonnulla Matthaei et Marci Enunciata, ex indole linguae Syriacae explicantur. Adduntur observationes quaedam in historiam utriusque evangelii* and *Brevis linguae Syriacae institutio in usum tironum*. While the first of these deals with text-critical observations on the Gospels of Matthew and Marc in Syriac, culled from his notebooks, the latter is a brief grammar of the Syriac language.³⁹

In 1785, Adler was appointed chaplain at Frederik's Church in Copenhagen, replacing the famous bibliophile Josias Lorck, who had just passed away.⁴⁰ Lorck had gathered an impressive collection of printed bibles in various languages, the celebrated *Biblicae Lorckianae* that was sold to Charles Eugene, Duke of Württemberg after his demise and became the founding stock of the Ducal Public Library of Stuttgart (now the Württembergische Landesbibliothek), though not before Adler had made an inventory of it, which he published in 1787: *Bibliotheca Biblica serenissimi württembergensium ducis olim lorckiana*. The inventory describes polyglots, editions of the *Biblia Hebraica* and the New Testament in Greek as well as editions of the *Targumim*, the Samaritan Bible, and bibles in Syriac, Yiddish, Latin, French and German. In the same year, he married Dorothea Maria Lorck, the daughter of Josias Lorck.⁴¹ A year earlier, Adler had been awarded a doctorate in Theology from Copenhagen University, with a dissertation on the passages in the Old Testament that predict the coming of Christ, entitled *Nonnulla de vaticiniis veteris testamenti de Christo*.

Finally, in 1788, Adler became *extraordinarius* of Theology and Oriental Languages at the University of Copenhagen. It was 1789 when he finished his last and probably most influential book: the *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae simplex, philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana*. The work contains a dense technical description and text-critical study of the Peshitta NT, the Harklean (which he believed to be

³⁹ I have not been able to locate and consult the former. The *Brevis* opens with a short introduction to Syriac script (Estrangelo, which he calls *antiquae*, and Serto, i.e. *recentes*), vocalisation and differential signs, then it discusses pronouns, nouns and verbs. It is appended with a brief chrestomathy containing excerpts from Barhebraeus (culled from Vatican, BAV, Ms. syr. 173), Jacob of Edessa's commentary on the books of Genesis and Joshua (Vatican, BAV, Ms. syr. 103), and the *Chronicle of Edessa*, Assemani 1719–1728, vol. 1, 390.

⁴⁰ Lorck met Tychsen in 1759 and they corresponded with one another after that. Tychsen supplied him with some editions of the Hebrew Bible that were missing in his collection.

⁴¹ I do not know much about their marriage. In his correspondence with Stefano Borgia, he regularly passes on his wife's regards and joyfully recounts to his namesake how they had his first son baptised by the name of Stefano. They appear to have had six children, Stuiber 2012, 258.

the Philoxenian) and the Christian Palestinian Aramaic versions.⁴² He was not the first one to note the distinction between the different New Testament versions, as Andreas Masius (1514–1573), Giuseppe Simone Assemani (1687–1768) in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Joseph White (1745–1814) and others had preceded him, but Adler brought more copies to his readers' attention and demonstrated their value in textual criticism. Furthermore, he seems to have been the first person to have taken an interest in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic version, i.e. the *versione hierosolymitana* as he calls it, found in Vatican, BAV, Ms. syr. 19 and first made known by Stefano Evodio Assemani's catalogue.⁴³ His study on the codex also contains a description of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic script, a palaeographic chart of which Johann David Michaelis, having coined it 'Adlerianum', included in his *Grammatica Syriaca* (1784).⁴⁴

In the years that followed, Adler was mostly active outside the academic world. When appointed royal court chaplain in 1789, he appears to have been overwhelmed by his varied duties and felt obliged to request a reduction in his teaching commitments. Besides these obligations, he ran an orphanage in Copenhagen and became consistorial councilor and general superintendent of Schleswig (later Holstein) in 1792. He carried out all of these functions up till 1796, when, on his own wish, he returned to Tondern in Holstein to minister a church. In this latter part of life, he was an active reformer of the Church, indebted to the ideas of the Enlightenment.⁴⁵ He authored the new prayer book *Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchenagende* and wrote a study that led to the re-organisation of the school system in 1814, that became associated with his name.⁴⁶ By the time Adler died in Giekau in 1834, he had been elected a member of all the major learned societies in Europe.

⁴² He describes Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. I.40, *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae*, 52–55, Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica, Ms. or. 74 (59–63), Paris, BnF, Ms. Syr. 64 (55–59), and Vatican, BAV, Mss. syr. 267 (64–65) and syr. 268 (63–64). The confusion between the Philoxenian and the Harklean versions prevailed until Sebastian Brock's work appeared, Brock 1981.

⁴³ Assemani 1756–1759, vol. 2, 70–103. It contains the beginning of the Gospel of John, according to the Peshitta, Harklean (called Philoxenian) and the Christian Palestinian Aramaic version.

⁴⁴ Michaelis 1784, plate V.

⁴⁵ Collections of his sermons have been published on various occasions, e.g. 1790 *Einige Predigten, gehalten vor den königlichen dänischen Herrschaften und auf allerhöchsten Befehl herausgegeben*, 1796 *Seine Sammlung von Predigten, in der Friedrichskirche zu Kopenhagen gehalten, uns seiner ihm unvergeßlichen Gemeinde zum Andenken gewidmet*, 2 vols, 1797 *D. Jac[ob] Georg Chr[istian] Adlers Predigten über die Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien durchs ganze Jahr*, 2 vols, and 1799 *Predigten über einige wichtige Gegenstände*.

⁴⁶ Adler, Jacob Georg Christian, *Kirchen-Agende 1797*, and *Nöthiger Unterricht 1797*.

It will be up to a future biographer to explore Adler's life in greater detail. This brief exposition of his books – those he published on the one hand and his manuscripts, notebooks and volumes of correspondence on the other – is naturally far from complete. My intention here has been to point out Adler's place in 18th-century Oriental scholarship and the learned practices that render it tangible. First and foremost, Adler's intellectual biography was shaped by his erudite travels: his journey through Europe, which gave the aspiring young man unparalleled access to manuscripts in public collections and private cabinets. Furthermore, it forged new connections to and reinforced existing networks with other scholars as well. Coupled with his collation and consultation of manuscripts made 'portable' in his notebooks, this transregional perspective sets Adler apart from his learned teacher, Tychsen, who relied on printed books and excerpts that his correspondents had sent him throughout his life, never actually leaving any of the places he taught in. There are other contrasting aspects in both scholars besides this point: Tychsen was attached to pietistic and even missionary movements, while in Adler's case, who had favoured the social and political inclusion of Jews, close reading of the Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in Syriac almost appears to have been his sole pious exercise. This disparity also seems to be reflected in their Jewish teachers from early on: Tychsen had been attached to the rather traditional circle around Rabbi Eybenschütz, while Adler studied in the schoolhouse run by Rabbi Emden, an early *maskil* and author of philological commentaries on Talmudic tractates. What we encounter in Adler is a reformer for whom his studious pursuits and re-organisation of his Church were intrinsically connected.

4 Jacob Adler's books

Adler left behind three kinds of books: printed works, manuscripts and his private notebooks, most of which were auctioned on 24 May 1836, two years after his death (they were bought by the University of Kiel for 300 Marks and by the University of Hamburg for an unspecified price).⁴⁷ Some of the notebooks remained in his family's possession, however, and were bequeathed to the University of Hamburg by his son-in-law, Krukenberg, in 1854 and his daughter in 1871.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ An auction catalogue exists: (1836) *Catalogus bibliothecae Rabbinicae et orientalis quam reliquit Jacob Georg Christian Adler*. Also see Bülck 1960, 237. Theodor Nöldeke grew enthusiastic when Kiel University Library acquired Adler's books, Bobzin 2002, 97.

⁴⁸ See the notes in Brockelmann 1908, XII.

Manuscripts

Universitätsbibliothek Kiel

1. **Cod. ms. ori 1 (olim K.B. 12)**
Syriac Gospels, 217 fols; contains the Gospel of Matthew (9:27–13:44 and 26:44–27:39 are missing) and Mark (15:32–42 are missing), according to the Harklean version (item 3 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 32). Cf. Ratjen 1863, 6.
2. **Cod. ms. ori 6 (olim K.B. 16)**
Palaeographic tracing of Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Cod. ms. ori 345, 171 fols; contains an Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Some of the pages show annotations made by Adler. Cf. Ratjen 1863, 7–8.
3. **Cod. ms. ori 7**
Ottoman Quran, probably item 338 or 339 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 29.⁴⁹
4. **Cod. ms. ori 8 (olim K.B. 18)**
Commentaries on Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, 465 fols, item 7 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33. Cf. Ratjen 1863, 9.
5. **Cod. ms. ori 17 (olim K.B. 21)**
Johann Jacob Reiske's own transcription of Abū al-Fidā's (d. 732/1331) *Kitāb al-tārīkh*, copied on 8 June 1745 and based on Leiden, University Library, Ms. Ar. 554, 452 fols, item 6 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33. Cf. Ratjen 1863, 10.
6. **Cod. ms. ori 34 (olim K.B. 25)**
Maps with Turkish descriptions, item 12 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33. Cf. Ratjen 1863, 10–11.⁵⁰

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg

1. **Cod. orient. 47b**
Quran, 8 fols, sura 6:54–91 (probably item 338 or 339 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 29). Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 7.

⁴⁹ Samples can be found in Wischermann 2004.

⁵⁰ Wischermann 2004.

2. **Cod. orient. 149a**
Grammar, 1 fol., treatise on verbal inflection in Arabic. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 59.
3. **Cod. orient. 169a**
Rhetorical texts in Arabic, 14 fols, treatise by Mahmūd b. Salām b. Fahd al-Ḥalabī (d. 725/1325). Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 48–49.
4. **Cod. orient. 171a**
Rhetoric, grammar and logic, 25 fols. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 74–75.
5. **Cod. orient. 171b**
Notebook, 7 fols, containing notes on grammar and *tafsīr*, lists the names of the months in Arabic, Coptic, Persian and Latin. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 75–76.
6. **Cod. orient. 92**
Collection of suras and prayers, 142 fols (probably corresponding to items 340–47 (*octo varii libri precum arab. cum suris nonnullis Corani*) in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 29). Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 127.
7. **Cod. orient. 251a**
Seven notes of quittance from Aleppo. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 135.
8. **Cod. orient. 26a**
Historical account on the Maronite community, 1771, 2 fols. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 169.
9. **Cod. orient. 22a–e**
Excerpts from liturgical books in Arabic, 92 fols. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 171–172.

Notebooks

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg

1. **Cod. orient. 173a (30 fols, Altona, various dates, 1773–1793)**
While most of Adler's notebooks contain material from the journeys he undertook between 1781 and 1782, this bundle of papers contains early notes on Islamic numismatics, predating the other books. Fol. 2r bears the title 'Images and descriptions of new Arabic coinage, by Jacob Georg Christian Adler, skilled in theology and Oriental languages' (*Abbildungen*

und Erklärung einiger neuen Arabischen Münzen von Jacob Georg Christian Adler, der Gottesgelahrtheit (sic!) und orientl. Sprachen beflissen). Fols 11r and 21r include tracings of coins that Adler made in 1773 and 1774. Fols 24–28 contain correspondence with Tychsen on the subject from 1777, 1784 and 1793. Fol. 29r shows a tracing of one of the seals published by Niebuhr. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 191–192.

2. **Cod. theol. 1027a (104 fols, various places, various dates)**

This volume of private documents was bequeathed to the Staatsbibliothek by his daughter in 1781. It contains two unpublished but proofed books on Talmudic tractates (fols I, 1–27 and fols II, 1–27) and quite diverse notes from his sojourn in Rome.

I, 27 fols *Der Talmudische Traktat vom Osterfeste mit der Erklärung des Raschi und den Tosephot in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt* (Kiel, 1776).

II, 27 fols *Ad libellum Mischnico-Talmudicum Joma, adnotationes et explicationes necessariae* (Altona, 1778).

III, 16 fols *Traduzione del Libro scritto in carattere Pali, o Bali, sopra Ole Dorate, che si conserva in Roma nella Biblioteca di Propaganda, fatta per commissione di Monsig. Stefano Borgia* (Rome, 1776).

IV, 1 fol. Handwritten notes in Italian on the right protocol to follow when dealing with cardinals.

V, 1 fol. Pricelist of a merchant selling tobacco and various spirits.

VI, 6 fols Geographical notes written in Adler's hand in Italian.

VII, 2 fols Notes on coins, Rome, 13 January 1780, in Italian.

VIII, 2 fols Notes on the Iberian script, in Italian.

IX, 4 fols Notes on coins, 22 February 1782, in Italian.

X, 1 fol Notes in Italian.

XI, 3 fols Notes and exercises in Italian (on the verbs *havère* and *essere*).

XIII, 16 fols Notes (e.g. on the sects of the Assassins).

XIV, 2 fols Notes on a Pentateuch manuscript in Armenian.

XV 2 fols Explanations concerning an colophon in Armenian.

XVI, 2 fols Palaeographic samples, in Palmyrene.

XVII 5 fols Notes on a Greek Psalter, Vatican, BAV, Ms. gr. 754.

XVIII, 8 fols Notes on the Palatine manuscripts at the BAV.

XIX, 2 fols Notes on the Hebrew Palatine manuscripts at the BAV.

Cf. Becker 1975, 13.

3. **Cod. orient. 277a (8 fols, undated)**

Mostly contains notes on Coptic grammar: its alphabet (1r), pronunciation (1^v), gender, number and cases (2r), pronouns (3r), nouns

Cod.orient. 277a

2

Genus norminum

per articulos animaduerſituer, hoc modo

πλ ερ ριγνιτ μαφουλινι περσεες νιρ .

† di feminini † 22 рнн Pax.

[~~Wort~~ Wenn *signum* indicat 1 pers. singul. Verbor] *signum*, nun aber im Nohat

NI est signum commune plural. masc. et femin. folyl in de gylpssin de

117
NIPASSES VIN NIZSDES mulieres. ^{and frant. gulf. m. m. g.} ^{jugen, or} PEANONECI

Haec signa tribuuntur nominibus determinatis, quae betnanef. ΦΟΤΗΒ

in analogo praefixum Il habent. Etiam illa quae Theb. ποτηνιβ βινει

indeterminata dicuntur, et in ar. articulo 21 carent, ^{et} *Verisim.*

affurnant practicum in Copto.

In singul. comm. Dr: orpucies vinf. Maun, non

2 plur. comm. *SAN* hat 2. plur. comm. *da Mann*

Nomina generis hic artificiali

Homosia propia res artificiales continent. Sed nominibus de
viciatissimi locorum transmittitur trans.

ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИЕ

De quatre nominum

Trinaria lutea & *Trinaria* *multicostata*

Ammonia 1, *Norma* 2, *repositum* 3
Reliqua 4, *transfusa* 5

et verum / et cognoscitur h

П и пречувствителна

ἡ - πνεῦμα spiritus.

$\phi - \phi_{p22}$ *nomon*

— 75 —

minina

⊕ *OB* *ciuitas*

7 72.10000 pay

• СЦІПАННА рай
Т. Т. 1 1919 1919

88 81πΔρχη τορarcha

DE DEZINH voluntas



(3v), verbs, negation and suffixes (4r-4v), glossary of particles (5r-5v). Fols 7-8 list the Pahlavi alphabet from Niebuhr's travel descriptions. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 173-174.

4. **Cod. theol. 1346a (47 fols, 1781-82, Rome)**

Contains his notes preparing for *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae*. Fol. 1r bears the titles *Animadversiones criticae in versionem Syriacam Philoxeniam Novi Testamenti, e codicibus antiquis Bibliothecarum Angelicae, Assemanianae, Barberinae, Medicieae, Regiae, factae a JGCA 1782*.

Describes the following manuscripts, noting variant readings: Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. or. 74 (fols 1-9), Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. syr. 267, syr. 268 and a third manuscript⁵¹ (fols 10-34); a manuscript from the Barberini collection (fols 35-41); Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. I.40 (fols 42-43), and Paris, BnF, Syr. 64 (fols 44-47).

Between the pages (fols 9-10, 23-24 and 33-34) there are slips of tracing paper containing palaeographic samples of the described manuscripts and/or descriptions of the colophons. Seems to belong with UBK, Cod. ms. ori 2.

Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 192; and Krüger 1985, 28.

5. **Cod. theol. 1466 (214 fols, Rome, 1780-82)**

The largest part of this volume contains his academic travel notes from 1780-83. Fol. 1r bears the title *Beobachtungen in verschiedenen auswärtigen Bibliotheken, vorzüglich in Italien, die Kritik der Bibel betreffend. Angestellt auf einer in den Jahren 1780.1781.1782 gemachten gelehrten Reise von JGCA. Nebst vielen Schriftproben und Zeichnungen*. Many palaeographic samples on tracing paper are included.

Fol. 2r Wolfenbüttel (4 July 1780); peruses the Syriac Gospels of Athanasius Kircher, cf. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 3. 1. 300.

Aug. fol. He also saw Kufic Quran fragments and the palimpsest of Uphila's Gospel translation.

Fol. 5v Nurnberg (2 August 1780); consults Syriac Gospels and a Hebrew Bible.

Fol. 6r Altdorf, Syriac Gospels.

Fol. 7r Vienna (7 August 1780); collates 15 Hebrew manuscripts (Kennicott 254, 593, 595, 588, 594, 592, 589, 590, 596, 591 and five additional Mss) 'to get some practice' ('zu meiner Übung', *Kurze Übersicht*, 3), noting text-critical observations and colophons and palaeographic notes. Further, he consulted

51 I have not been able to identify its current shelfmark.

the Purple Gospels and Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. N. F. 97 (olim Lambecii codex XLIV), a Gospel manuscript in Arabic.

Fols 19–32v Venice (25 September 1780); reports the closure of the Biblioteca Marciana, leaving him with only two days for consultation. Meets de Rossi.

Fol. 33r Padua (21 October 1780), at the Biblioteca Santa Giustina.

Fols 33v–35v Mantua; sees the library kept by Rabbi Jacob Saraval.

Fol. 36r Parma; allowed to consult de Rossi's private library and at the Biblioteca Ducale (Palatina).

Fol. 36v Bologna.

Fols 37r–46v Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Palatina, mostly Syriac manuscripts.

Fols 47–126v Rome (21 December 1780), consults the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (there mostly biblical versions in Syriac, Arabic and even Judaeo-Persian and Hebrew Bible manuscripts), Biblioteca Vallicelliana (Alcuin's revision of the Vulgate is there), the Library of the Maronite College (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. ar. 467–468), the Biblioteca Barberina, Biblioteca Casanatense, the Library of the Propaganda Fide (mostly Arabic versions of the Bible are kept there).

Fols 127v–141r Florence (April 1782), Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mss. Or. 57 and Or. 112)

Fols 142r–147v Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

Fols 148r–152v Paris (10 June 1782), Bibliotheca Regia, Libraries of Sainte-Geneviève and Saint-Germain-des-Près.

Fol. 153r–164v Leiden and Amsterdam.

Fol. 165 Notes on Arabic inscriptions.

Fols 166r170r Excerpts from several publications dealing with inscriptions.

Fols 171r–173r Description of Palmyrene inscriptions from the Capitoline Museum.

Fols 174r–177r Notes on Parthian, Samaritan and Phoenician coins.

Fols 180r–187v Title: *Anmerkungen über die vulgare arabische Sprache, und dessen Dialekte. Ein Beweis der näheren Verwandtschaft des Ar. mit dem Hebr.*

Fols 188r–210v Excerpts from Syriac manuscripts, palaeographic samples.

Fols 212r–213v Title: *Genealogia Matterniana*.

Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 193–194, and Krüger 1985, 50.

6. Cod. orient. 17d (25 fols, various texts).

This volume contains various notes and excerpts.

Fols 1–2 Excerpts from Copenhagen, Royal Library, Codices Arab. 151 and 152; contains the beginning of a historiographical account on Egypt by Marʿī

ibn Yūsuf al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1033/1624).

Fols 3–6 Notes on Deguine's *Histoire des Huns*.

Fols 7–8 Collations of the Gospels and book of Psalms in Syriac, Arabic and Greek, based on Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. syr. 12, syr. 13, syr. 23 and gr. 754.

Fols 8–17 Excerpts from al-Maqrizī, based on Leiden, University Library, Ms. Ar. 854.

Fols 18 Excerpts from an Arabic prayer book.

Fols 19–25 Excerpts from a Christian-Arabic treatise.

Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 189–190.

Universitätsbibliothek Kiel

1. **Cod. ms. ori 2 (olim K.B. 13), (33 fols, 1781–82, Rome), item 2 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 32.**

Title: *Descriptio et collatio codicis unici Vaticani versionis Syriacae Hierosolymitanae vel Palaestinae Novi Test. Criticus omnibus ignotae, auctore JGCA, Romae 1781 et 1782 (frontispiece).*

Fol. 1^r *Codex Syriacus Vaticanus XIX, Evangelia eclogadia dialecti Syriacae Palaestinae.*

Contains notes on Vatican, BAV, Ms. syr. 19 and a palaeographic tracing of Matth. 27:12–22 (after fol. 33), used in preparation of *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae*, in particular 137–202. Seems to belong with SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1346a.

Cf. Ratjen 1863, 6.

2. **Cod. ms. ori 4 (olim K.B. 14), (vol. 1 has 80 fols and vol. 2 78 fols, 1781–82, Rome), item 8–10 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33.**

Two volumes (Gen–Lev and Num–Deut) containing a transcription of an Arabic column found in the Samaritan triglot Vatican, BAV, Ms. Barb. or. 1.

Tracing paper with palaeographic samples can be found between fols 78 and 79.

Title: *Penteteuchus Arabicus Samaritanus Peirescianus ex egregio ms. codice τριγλωττω bibliothecae Barberinae Romae descriptus et propriis Arabum literis redditus a Jac. G. Christiano Adler.*

Seems to belong with SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1338a (now lost).

Cf. Ratjen 1863, 6–7.

3. **Cod. ms. ori 5 (olim K.B. 15), (26 fols, 1782, Paris), item 11, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 3.**

Contains excerpts from historiographic work on the Samaritans, copied from Paris, BnF, Ms. Sam. 10.

Title: كتاب تاريخ السامري *Historia Samaritanorum auctore Meselm ben Jospeh Samaritano. E codice ms. bibliothecae regiae descripta.* Parisiis, 1782, JGCA (fol. 1r). Fols 25v and 26r contain notes on the provenance of the Parisian codex.

Cf. Ratjen 1863, 7.

Now lost

1. **SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1338a (79 fols, 1782, Rome)**

Contains a collation of the first Barberini Polyglot, Vatican, BAV, Ms. Barb. or. 1. *Collatio pentateuchi hebraeo-samaritici cum judaico, e codice insigni τριγλωττω Bibliothecae Barberinae Romae, in quo nonnullae varietates habentur a kennicotto aliisque praetermissae. Accedunt obervationes quaedam in versionem arabicam samaritanorum ex eodem codice.*

Seems to belong with UBK, Cod. ms. ori 4. Tychsen copied this notebook (UBR, Ms. orient. 116).⁵²

Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 192–193, and Krüger 1985, 25.

2. **item 4, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 32**

Excerpts from Bar Bahlul's lexicon, found in manuscripts from the Vatican and Florence.

3. **item 5, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33**

Litterae patentes Patriarchae Antiocheni.

4. **item 13, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33**

Mentions another notebook, with observations on the Coptic version of the Book of Job.

5. **item 14–15, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 34**

Notes on the Coptic version of the Gospel of John.

52 Cf. <http://opac.lbs-rostock.gbv.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=880986190>

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Ira Rabin

Building a Bridge from the Dead Sea Scrolls to Mediaeval Hebrew Manuscripts

Abstract: As part of the Qumran project conducted at the BAM Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing in Berlin between 2007 and 2010, my colleagues and I developed a new, integrated methodology for determining the original and acquired properties of highly heterogeneous Dead Sea Scrolls. The purpose of this methodology is to help scholars determine the provenance of fragments of the scrolls and sort and compare them more easily than in the past. Since our measurements allowed us to differentiate between the minerals originating from the production processes and the sediments accrued during storage in the caves in Qumran, we were able to reconstruct the treatment of hides and discovered that at least two distinct parchment-production techniques co-existed at the beginning of the common era.

The reconstruction of workmanship on animal hides in Antiquity raised doubts about the validity of the current definition of parchment, which is based on a production technique known from the Middle Ages. We hope that our current work will also help researchers understand the characteristic properties of *gewil*, *qelaf* and *dukhsustos* better.¹

The evolution and socio-geographic distribution of writing inks in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages are the second focus of our investigative work at BAM. We use X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF) to determine the chemical composition of inks and NIR reflectography for their typology. We are amply assisted in our ambitious enterprise by codicologists and palaeographers who have adopted our methodology and conduct field studies of their own.

1 Introduction

The International Qumran Project was conducted at BAM Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung (Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing) between 2007 and 2010 and aimed at establishing the best methodology

¹ These three Hebrew/Aramaic terms all relate to different forms of treated leather intended to serve as writing material; the terminological differentiation in rabbinic literature is not totally clear, however. Cf. Blau 1902, 22ff., and for a more recent discussion, see Haran 1991, 37ff. and Olszowy-Schlanger's contribution to this volume, p. 64–68.

for achieving an accurate characterisation of the Dead Sea Scrolls Collection to address such questions as the archaeological provenance, origin and attribution of fragments to a specific sheet of a scroll.² This project was followed by a field study of scrolls now belonging to the Schøyen Collection³, which contains fragments of the *Great Isaiah Scroll* (1QIsa^a), *Community Rule* (1QS^a) and *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen). Combining the results from the Qumran project with those of the untreated fragments from the Schøyen Collection, we were able to show the co-existence of multiple techniques for producing parchment in Antiquity as opposed to the uniform technique characteristically employed in the Middle Ages.⁴

2 Technical aspects of parchment production in Antiquity

Unlike parchment production in the Middle Ages,⁵ the production of the majority of the hide-based material used for the Dead Sea Scrolls, as reported in the first physical and chemical study, did not involve lime soaking, but enzymatic depilation. In Antiquity, this was usually carried out by applying dung or flour to the animal skin or immersing it in a solution containing warm water and vegetable matter. The treatment involved drying the hide under tension, a stage that supplied the material with properties similar to those of common parchment. However, vegetable tannins that were sometimes applied to the surface of the hide during the last stage of the treatment produced an interesting hybrid between leather and parchment that was never tanned conventionally.⁶ Extremely thin pieces of parchment from the time before lime was employed for depilation testify to production processes in which an animal skin could be separated into two usable parts now known as grain and flesh splits. In my opinion, the rather confused Talmudic discussion with regard to the rules of inscribing grain and flesh splits indicates that this technique was neither common nor in use when the Talmudic description was written.⁷ The art of splitting skins manually disappeared with the introduction of lime. Furthermore, aluminium sulphate salts, which are also

² Rabin/Hahn 2013.

³ See *The Schøyen Collection: Manuscripts from around the World Spanning 5000 Years of Human Culture & Civilisation*, <http://www.schoyencollection.com/> (last accessed 12 March 2017).

⁴ Rabin, 2016

⁵ See de Groot 2012; Rück 1991.

⁶ Poole/Reed 1962.

⁷ Cf. Haran 1991, 39ff.; he is of a different opinion than I, though.

known as alum [$\text{MAl}(\text{SO}_4)_2 \cdot x12\text{H}_2\text{O}$, $\text{M}=\text{Na}, \text{K}, \text{NH}_4^+$], have been used to produce soft, white leather of excellent quality ever since Antiquity.⁸ This material, however, differs greatly from the usual tanned leather in that it is not resistant to water. In the Middle Ages, leather goods manufactured by a technique called alum thawing included pieces of parchment for writing that were more flexible than the rigid mediaeval parchment so common at the time (and better suited for codices).⁹

Reed's description of the manufacture of the parchment used for the Dead Sea Scrolls lacks detail regarding the treatment provided after flaying a hide, the use of materials to assist drying, and finishing steps. From the detailed descriptions of parchment-making in the Middle Ages that still exist, we know that chalk and powdered pumice were applied to the flesh side to assist in the cleaning and drying of the de-haired skin.¹⁰ Our discovery of calcium distributed on the grain and flesh surfaces of the *Great Isaiah Scroll* and the *Community Scroll* strongly indicates that similar steps existed in Antiquity as well.¹¹ There are no records in early Hebrew literature that mention the composition of de-hairing liquors. Similarly, we do not know whether treatment with tannins could be a general finishing step in the manufacture of hide-based material or whether tannins were only applied directly before the parchment was inscribed. In their independent studies, Reed and Wallert¹² found evidence that tannins were applied to the surface of a skin. Reed, however, mentions that he found no difference between the treatment of the hair and flesh sides, and concludes that de-hairing steps could also have involved tannins.

Ideally, reconstruction of the techniques used to treat hides – depilation, drying and finishing procedures – should determine every step in the process of transforming a flayed skin into writing material (see Fig. 1). In the absence of detailed written records, we have to rely on analyses of the end products, i.e. historical, skin-based writing material. With few exceptions, the end products have reached us in a rather degraded state, so our analysis obviously needs to take the effects of this degradation into consideration. In view of the current stage of our technology, precise elucidation of all the production steps could only be achieved with techniques that require physical samples to be taken and then analysed. Nevertheless, non-destructive testing of a large number of scrolls and sorting them according to their similarities can still provide us with some precious information. In addition to this, NDT considerably reduces the need for destructive analysis.

⁸ Reed 1972, 50.

⁹ Reed 1972, 62.

¹⁰ See Gullick 1991, 148; Ryder 1991, 26ff.

¹¹ Rabin 2016.

¹² Reed/Poole 1964; Wallert 1996.

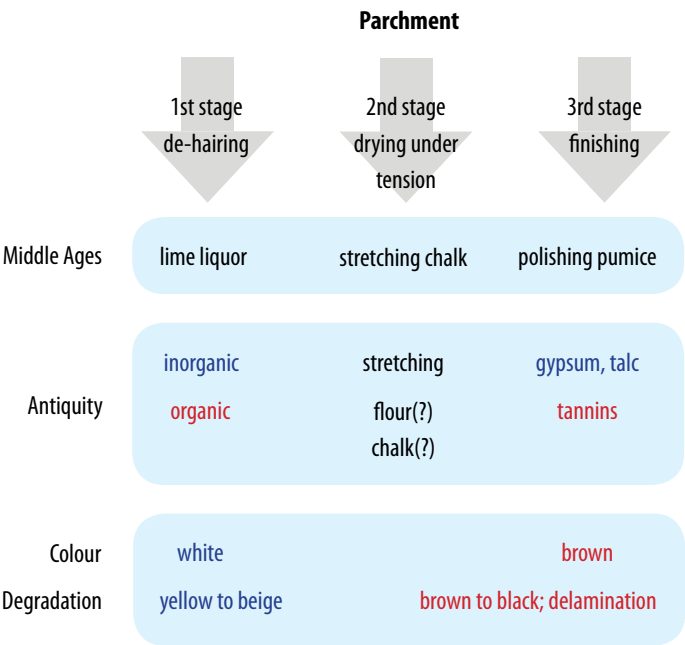


Fig. 1: Parchment preparation.

Ronald Reed divided the fragments at his disposal into three groups: (a) leather, (b) parchment-like and (c) *gewil*-like. According to him, the last group, which was pale yellow in colour, differed from the parchment-like group in its suppleness and similarity to the modern *gewil*. He concluded that various preparation processes were probably responsible for this difference since all the other properties tested appeared to be quite similar, including tanning on the surface of the hide. In his original interpretation of the results, Reed relied heavily on rabbinic sources about the preparation of writing materials. Later, however, he revised his conclusions, acknowledging that the *gewil*-like parchments at his disposal had never been tanned.¹³ Since the *gewil* described in the Talmud requires dressing with vegetable tannins, he tentatively concluded that this type of material, with a pale colour and soft, velvety touch, cannot correspond to the *gewil* described in the Talmud.

Similarly, our studies have shown that the Dead Sea Scrolls material can roughly be divided into three groups: leather, light coloured parchment and parchment of various shades of brown. The latter ones are invariably tanned, whereas the

¹³ Reed 1972, 262.

first parchment group is characterised by the presence of various sulphate salts. The colour of some of the pale parchments, among them well-preserved portions of the *Temple Scroll* (11QT^a), is remarkably similar to that of mediaeval European parchment. We therefore formulated the working theory that in Hellenistic-period Judaea, two different parchment-making traditions must have existed side by side: an 'eastern' one (represented by the tanned parchments of Qumran, closely resembling Aramaic documents from the 5th century BCE)¹⁴ and a 'western' one (represented by the non-tanned/lightly tanned ones, similar to early Christian Greek parchments). Comparing Reed's classification with ours, we concluded that his 'gewil'-like' parchment coincides with our 'western' type. Usually, one can see a striking difference in the elemental composition of the two types. Sulphur (S) from the sulphates used in de-hairing liquors only corresponds to the most abundant element in the second group, whereas potassium (K), which is present in plant extracts, is mostly evident on the scrolls that have undergone vegetable tanning. It is worth noting that in the lightly tanned parchments, the levels of potassium are not necessarily very high. Unfortunately, potassium and sulphur may result from more than one source. Therefore, when only minute amounts are detected with a single non-destructive method such as XRF, no precise attribution is possible. Luckily, the presence of tannins can be tested by other methods, such as Raman and FTIR spectroscopy or fluorescence analysis. The fact that tannins effectively quench the fluorescence of parchment is well known and routinely used for enhancing the contrast between a text written in iron-gall ink and a mediaeval parchment. Reed applied fluorescence analysis in his own assessment of scroll fragments: the observation that his 'gewil' group fluoresced strongly under UV light served as the final argument against tanning. In our laboratory at BAM, we performed all four tests for tannin identification and came to the conclusion that the fluorescence test was the quickest and easiest way of answering this question.

3 Parchment production in the Middle Ages

In Fig. 1, the main steps of parchment production in Antiquity are being compared with the common techniques we know of from the Middle Ages (and which are still in use today in some places). As we can see, the main innovation in mediaeval times (which was actually introduced at an unknown time and place in the early Middle Ages) was treating hides with lime liquor for quick and efficient

¹⁴ Driver 1954.

removal of hair at the first stage of production. It is also this stage that allows us to differentiate between ‘eastern’ and ‘western’ methods in Antiquity, marked in red and blue respectively in the Figure. During the second stage, drying the skin while it was under tension and then cleaning it conferred a two-dimensional structure to the skin, turning it into parchment. This central stage in the production process has not changed since Antiquity, although different powdered materials are now used to assist drying. The last stage, finishing, has many different features that depended strongly on the locality, time and the intended final use of the hide in the Middle Ages. The third stage was also distinctly different for the ‘eastern’ and ‘western’ treatment of hides in Antiquity: heavy surface tanning vs. gypsum and talc detected on some of the untanned scrolls.

Turning to the Jewish mediaeval scrolls now, I would like to investigate whether our east/west hypothesis concerning the differences in the production of scrolls actually does reflect the practices common in Western and Oriental Jewish communities. There are, indeed, some indications that different traditions have been preserved to this today. Regarding the Middle Ages, we studied four mediaeval Tora scrolls from the Erfurt Collection kept at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Ms. or. fol. 1215–Ms. or. fol. 1218). Our analysis revealed that none of them was written on *gewil*; rather than that material, they were written on conventionally prepared mediaeval parchment with no detectable traces of any tanning. To follow up the development of the writing materials, it was necessary to identify a representative and accessible corpus for our investigation. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger’s suggestion that different book forms (i.e. the scroll and codex) co-existed in the Middle Ages provides us with a corpus that actually goes well beyond Tora scrolls.¹⁵ Her discovery that the Cairo Geniza collection contains fragments of scrolls that can be attributed to the Babylonian and Palestinian communities narrowed the choice down to a manageable number of manuscripts.¹⁶ Moreover, the distribution of the writing material (leather or parchment) between these two communities not only supports our east/west hypothesis, i.e. the co-existence of two different processing techniques at the end of the Second Temple period, but it also indicates the continuity of these traditions into the Middle Ages. Our pilot material analysis of the Cairo Geniza fragments conducted in September 2015 included nine leather scroll fragments and a single fragment made of parchment.¹⁷ All the fragments

¹⁵ Olszowy-Schlanger 2017.

¹⁶ For a detailed discussion of the attribution, see Judith Olszowy-Schlanger’s article in the present volume.

¹⁷ *Cairo Genizah Palimpsests Project* conducted at the University Library Cambridge and co-ordinated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (EPHE, Paris) and Ben Outhwaite (Cambridge).

were subjected to reflectographic analysis, i.e. we obtained micrographs under UV, VIS and near-infrared illumination (NIR). X-ray fluorescence measurements of eight scrolls – seven made of leather and one of parchment – revealed such a high amount of calcium in the leather scrolls that it seems the leather must have undergone treatment with lime rather than dung. Furthermore, the elevated amount of iron also detected may indicate that the tanning was not entirely vegetable. An interesting question as to whether the non-biblical scroll parchments of the Geniza collection were indeed tanned will be addressed in studies that are planned for 2018. Our preliminary observations based on the UV micrographs tentatively suggest that no such practice was in use.

4 Inks

In her excellent study on the written sources of ink recipes, Monique Zerdoun covers more than 1,000 years of history.¹⁸ Starting with soot inks from Late Antiquity, she moves on to the common iron-gall inks of the mediaeval period. Among the inks mentioned in her review, we find pure soot inks, soot inks with different additives, in particular with a substance containing copper (χάλκανθον or *chalkanthon*; blue vitriol, copper sulphate, as mentioned by Dioscorides), tannin inks produced from oak galls or tree bark, mixtures of soot ink and tannins, iron-gall inks and, finally, mixtures of iron-gall inks and soot or soot-based inks. Since we are mostly interested in the analysis of inks here, let us start by describing their properties and the methods used to identify them.

Soot, plant and iron-gall inks belong to different typological classes of black ink: soot ink is a fine dispersion of carbon pigments in a water-soluble binding agent, while plant-based ink consists of a solution of tannin extracts with a binding agent. Iron-gall ink combines water-soluble components (iron sulphate and tannin extract from gall nuts) with insoluble black material that is produced when the components undergo a chemical reaction. Each ink class has distinct properties that would readily permit their differentiation if only historical inks belonged to just one of the classes above. In reality, however, inks often contain additives that obscure the picture and make the full elucidation of the ink composition a challenging task. Table 1 lists all known inks together with their characteristic features and means of identification:

¹⁸ Zerdoun 1983.

Table 1: Black inks detected in various documents ranging from Antiquity to the Middle Ages

Type of ink	Precursors	Colourant	Colour	Properties	Detection ^a
carbon ^b	wood, oil	carbon (soot or charcoal)	black	pigment; stays on the surface; solid black colour from UV to IR spectral regions	IR photog-raphy, Raman ^c
copper ^d	blue vitriol (CuSO4), gall nuts	not identified	brown	not studied	PIXE ^e
iron-gall	green vitriol ^f (FeSO4), gall nuts	iron gallate	black (brown when deteri-orated)	pigment & solution; penetrates substrate; loses opacity towards IR; becomes transparent at 1200nm	IR photog-raphy, Raman, XRF, PIXE
plant ^g	bark, gall nuts	tannin	brown	solution; readily penetrates substrates; becomes invisible in NIR	IR photog-raphy, FTIR
mixed	carbon & copper ^h	carbon	black	same as carbon; presence of copper can only be detected by X-rays	IR photog-raphy + XRF
mixed	carbon & lead ⁱ	carbon	black	same as carbon	IR photog-raphy + XRF
mixed	carbon & tannin ^j	carbon	black	same as carbon	extraction
mixed	carbon & iron-gall ^k	carbon & iron gallate	black	same as carbon	IR photog-raphy + XRF

- a. A detailed description of the detection techniques is given elsewhere (Rabin 2014).
- b. In addition to the multitude of recipes, there is a great deal of analytical work in progress that reflects a growing interest in historic inks.
- c. It is now routinely detected by infrared reflectography and Raman spectroscopy.
- d. Copper-tannin ink was identified in a number of documents from Egypt in the 1st–3rd centuries CE (Delange et al. 1990).
- e. PIXE stands for Particle Induced X-ray Emission.
- f. Natural vitriol consists of a mixture of metallic sulphates (iron sulphate, copper sulphate, manganese sulphate, and zinc sulphate) with relative weight contributions characteristic of the source. These contributions can be easily detected by X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF). We use this property of iron-gall inks for their comparison and identification (Hahn et al. 2004).
- g. Plant inks can be easily recognised by their homogeneous brown colour as opposed to the heterogeneous brown of degraded iron-gall inks.
- h. So far, carbon inks containing copper have only been found in inks from the first few centuries CE.
- i. Like ink containing copper, carbon ink with lead (Pb) as an additive can only be identified by combining two techniques: IR photography and XRF. The recent identification of lead on a charred fragment of material from Herculaneum caused a great deal of excitement as there are no written records from this period that mention the use of lead in black inks (Burn et al. 2016). Curiously, one of the ink ingredients mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud is lead (*'avar*, *'avara'*, e.g. bGittin 19a).
- j. This ink presents a challenge for identification by non-invasive methods and has not been found in a historical manuscript yet.
- k. As with carbon inks containing copper and lead, two techniques are required for unequivocal identification: IR photography and XRF.

In Late Antiquity, the main black writing ink used was based on soot or charcoal produced mostly from oils and wood respectively. The best-known descriptions are from Pliny the Elder¹⁹ and Vitruvius²⁰ and suggest a mixture of two ingredients: soot or charcoal and gum. Although not sought intentionally, soot has been identified in the inks of many documents from this period. Infrared images of the documents that show clear writing in black as compared to those images taken in visible light invariably indicate the presence of soot. In a relatively small number of ancient documents studied with X-ray methods, including five manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scrolls collection, analysis revealed the presence of copper in a

¹⁹ *The Natural History* 35.25.

²⁰ *The Ten Books on Architecture* VII, 10, 217.

soot-based ink.²¹ This finding brings us to Dioscorides' recipe,²² which contains a copper-based substance. Pliny the Elder equated this substance with atramentum sutorius, or 'shoemaker's black', and seemed to believe that it was used to blacken leather.²³ This is chemically implausible, though, as no copper substance produces a black pigment upon reaction with tannin; 'shoemaker's black' must therefore have contained an iron-based substance. The clear distinction between copper and iron sulphates probably marks the beginning of the era of iron-gall inks. Without joining the complicated debate on the inks described in various Talmudic tractates, I would like to point out that the list of possible ingredients from the earlier Mishna (e.g. mShabbat 12:4 / bShabbat 104b or mGittin 2:3 / bGittin 19a) contains *qanqantum*, which, despite slight distortion, remains easily recognisable as Dioscorides' *chalkanthon*, whereas the Gemara compiled later refers to the same substance (*harta de-'ushkafe*) as the 'shoemaker's black' mentioned by Pliny. Furthermore, the word *copperas*, which is actually sulphate of iron, or green vitriol, also testifies to the confusion regarding the technique used to produce iron-gall inks in the first few centuries of the Common Era.²⁴ By the 5th century CE, iron-gall ink seems to have become established, although the first written recipe did not appear for another 300–400 years in the Orient and for another 600–700 years in Europe (at least according to the written records known to us so far).

The chapter of Zerdoun's book dedicated to the inks used by Jews in different epochs and geographical zones is of particular interest to those of us who conduct material analyses and try to correlate the results with written records and existing traditions.²⁵ Comparing the inks proposed by Maimonides, who lived in 12th-century Egypt, with the considerations of Rashi, who lived in 11th-century northern France, we can see that they both advocated use of the inks commonly known and produced in their respective regions. It is Maimonides who proposes to add tannins to the soot inks, but rejects the metallic salt, both of which were practices that were well attested in contemporary Arabic recipes for making ink.²⁶ In contrast, Rashi was favourable to employing the plant inks in use in contemporary Northern Europe.²⁷

²¹ Broshi 1996.

²² Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* V.181; Zerdoun 1983, 80.

²³ *The Natural History* 34.32.

²⁴ Karpenko/Norris 2002.

²⁵ Zerdoun 1983, 97.

²⁶ Zerdoun 1983, 124–126; Shoppen 2006, 141–144.

²⁷ Dodwell 1961, 34–35.

It is very unfortunate that the sporadic material analysis of mediaeval inks lags far behind studies of written records at the moment. Given the fact that material analysis requires access to the original documents and involves transporting rather sophisticated equipment, it is no wonder that we do not possess statistically relevant data sets covering large geographic areas and periods of time. However, over the last five years, we have been collecting information about the inks used in Hebrew manuscripts in the Middle Ages. While no use of soot inks has been attested for Europe yet, iron-gall inks and carbon inks have been found in documents from the Orient²⁸ that are in accordance with the inks available in the respective regions. This finding supports the suspicion that theological debates responded to the common practices of ink preparation at a given geographic spot and time period. We plan to address the ink composition of biblical scrolls in the Geniza collection over the next few years.

5 Conclusion

The Qumran project in Berlin developed a methodology for the material study of the Dead Sea Scrolls that aimed at addressing archaeometric questions such as sorting the scrolls, their origin and archaeological provenance. In the course of examining the scroll material, we arrived at the conclusion that at least two different traditions of hide treatment co-existed towards the end of the Second Temple Era: heavily tanned parchments (the ‘eastern’ tradition) and non-tanned or lightly tanned parchments (the ‘western’ one). Preliminary observations regarding the nature of the writing material used for the non-biblical scrolls in the Cambridge Geniza collection supports the correlation of eastern and western traditions with the Babylonian and Palestinian communities, respectively.

Our ink studies tentatively suggest that inks found in profane Hebrew manuscripts generally correspond to the inks available at the time and location of writing rather than reflecting the isolated socio-cultural backgrounds of the respective Jewish communities. On the other hand, the preferential use of carbon inks for non-biblical scrolls from the Babylonian community may indicate that writing on the scrolls was subject to different rules. Planned study of a larger number of Tora scrolls from both communities will certainly clarify this question.

28 Rabin/Hahn/Binetti 2014; Cohen et al., current volume; and unpublished results.

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Composition Analysis of Writing Materials in Geniza Fragments

Abstract: Our current projects focus on the material analysis of the writing materials kept in the Taylor-Schechter Collection at Cambridge University Library, which houses the largest collection of Cairo Geniza fragments, about 190,000. Although Geniza manuscripts have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, the material aspects of these documents seem to have been largely neglected. The current study aims to obtain information on the composition of the writing supports and the inks that were used, the production of the original manuscripts and the history of their degradation. The collected data should supplement the description based on Hebrew palaeography and codicology. Moreover, a characterisation of the writing materials would provide insights on trade, local production techniques and social structures. The tabulated results have the potential to be used as geo-chronological markers if sufficient data is collected.

For our study, we chose Hebrew legal documents and letters from three communities that co-existed in Fustat (today Cairo) in the 11th century: the Jerusalemite (or ‘Palestinian’) community, the Babylonian community and the Karaites, three different communities with different scribal traditions. In addition to this, we studied non-biblical scrolls attributed to the Palestinian and Babylonian communities. The question we addressed was whether we can correlate the use of a specific type of ink to an objective criterion.

For our analysis at Cambridge University Library, we used a number of protocols developed at BAM (Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung) in Berlin and at the Centre for Study of Manuscript Cultures, University of Hamburg (CSMC). These include reflectographic examination followed by non-destructive X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis using transportable instruments so that the analysis can be carried out *in situ*.

We have illustrated our approach here by providing two examples. The first one describes our investigation of the leather fragment containing a portion of the Babylonian Talmud on its hair side (TS Misc.26.53.17). The second example illustrates our ability to compare iron-gall inks using the XRF method. In this case, we explored the question of the codicological attribution of three fragments (TS F174, TS 12.755 and TS 12.756) to the same Talmud manuscript.

1 Background

According to the Jewish tradition, a Geniza (גניזה, plural: *genizot*) is a storage place (often a room in or near a synagogue) for manuscripts that have gone out of use. As an institution, it is based on the ban against destroying writings liable to contain the divine name (mainly *sifre Tora*, *tefillin*, *mezuzot*). This formal prohibition was informally extended to include all written documents. They are systematically stored in a Geniza, waiting to be ritually buried.¹

Such a Geniza was attached to the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat, today situated in Old Cairo, Egypt, south of the centre of the modern city. Known today by the name Cairo Geniza, it came to the attention of scholars by the end of the 19th century. The Cairo Geniza contains manuscripts with a fairly broad chronological range from the late 9th to the 19th century and originating mainly in Egypt, Tunisia, Sicily, and Palestine. They are written in many languages, including Hebrew, Judaeo-Arabic, Arabic, Aramaic, and Yiddish and mainly on parchment and paper, but also on papyrus and cloth. Furthermore, the fragments present texts on a variety of subjects – legal, social, medical, economic, cultural, literary, and religious. The Cairo Geniza's exceptional wealth of social, cultural, and historical data makes it a stimulating object of study. Unfortunately, manuscripts and fragments from the Cairo Geniza are now scattered in different libraries throughout the world, but primarily in England (Cambridge University Library; Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; John Rylands Library Manchester; British Library, London), in Russia (Firkovitch and Antonin Collections, St. Petersburg), in France (Alliance Israélite Universelle; Mosseri Collection), and in the United States (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York; Katz Center for Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania).²

The current project focuses on the material analysis of the writing materials kept today in the Taylor-Schechter Collection at the Cambridge University Library, which houses the largest collection, with about 190,000 fragments.³ Though Geniza manuscripts have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, the material aspects of these documents seem to have been largely neglected. The current study aims to obtain information on the composition of the writing supports and inks, their production, and the history of their degradation. The collected data should supplement the description based on Hebrew palaeography and codico-

¹ See Reif 2000, 12f.

² See Reif 2000, 15ff.

³ See the website of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library: <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/departments/taylor-schechter-genizah-research-unit/taylor-schechter-genizah-priceless> (last accessed 12 April 2017).

logy. Moreover, a characterisation of the writing materials would provide insights on trade, local technologies, and social structures. If sufficient data is collected, the tabulated results have the potential for use as a geo-chronological marker.

2 Objectives

The first objective of this research is a technical one: to conduct a systematic study of the composition of inks from Geniza fragments and to characterise the interaction between the writing materials and the writing medium. Identification of the types of the inks and their main ingredients and a tentative reconstruction of their recipes provide valuable information on the still unwritten history of writing inks. In addition to their intrinsic value, the results might provide information useful for the efficient preservation of manuscripts.

The second objective is sociological and historical. The ink composition established by scientific methods can be used as an indirect geo-chronological marker, in particular in the case of iron-gall ink. The composition of the vitriol used for the iron-gall ink preparation depends on the place of extraction. While attributing the vitriol used to a specific source of extraction is seldom possible, a number of origins can be excluded thanks to such analysis. Though ink composition alone cannot be used as a direct geo-chronological marker, superposition of chemical, palaeographical, codicological, and textual data would help to date and localize and serve as an additional argument for a typology and dating of other Hebrew scripts. Furthermore, to include the aspect of social interaction, we focus on the inks used by the scribes from different local Jewish communities as compared with the rest of Fustat (Muslim scribes, for example) and with inks used by those who did not reside in Egypt.

3 The corpus

The Cairo Geniza contains a significant number of fragments written by scribes from different schools and origins. Judaism accords great importance to tradition, which differs depending on the region the believer (or his family) comes from. Migrations (travels, trade, expulsion...) already led to the mixing of the population and the installation, in Cairo, of a number of Jewish communities with different rites. Our question is: can we correlate the use of the ink type to an objective criterion? Does the ink type depend on the manuscript type (legal, private, religious)? On the support type? On the geographic origin of the document? On the community the scribe belongs to?

For our study, we chose Hebrew legal documents and letters from three communities that coexisted in Fustat in the 11th century: the so-called Jerusalemite (or Palestinian) community, the Babylonian community, and the Karaites, three different communities with different scribal traditions.⁴ During the first half of the 11th century, the borders between these communities were well defined, so that attribution was possible. Moreover, the number of fragments building our corpus is sufficiently large for reasonable statistical analysis.

Tab. 1: The documents and the scribes chosen for the study.⁵

Palestinian / Jerusalemite congregation	Documents	Babylonian / Iraqi congregation	Documents	Karaite congregation	Documents
Efrayim ben Shemarya. Spiritual leader of the Jerusalemite congregation in Fustat (1007–1055)	4 documents 1 <i>halakha</i> 11 legal documents 9 letters 1 list 1 petition 1 poetry 1 responsum 29 items	Elḥanan ben Shemarya. Leader of the Babylonian congregation (until his death in 1026) in Fustat and responsible for contacts with the yeshiva in Babylonia (today Iraq)	4 letters 1 note 1 legal document 6 items	Unknown scribes	2 manuscripts 2 wedding contracts (<i>ketubot</i>) 4 items
Yefet ben David Assistant of Efrayim ben Shemarya	2 accounts 1 legal document 4 <i>ketubot</i> 4 letters 1 fragment 12 items	Avraham ben Saḥlān. Head of the Iraqi congregation in Fustat, <i>alluf</i> and <i>ḥaver</i> (1016–c. 1032)	4 legal documents 4 items		
		Saḥlān ben Avraham <i>Payṭan</i> and like his father head of the Iraqi congregation in Fustat, <i>alluf</i> and <i>ḥaver</i> (1034–1049/1050)	6 letters 1 legal document 1 <i>piyyuṭ</i> 1 note 1 calendar 10 items		

⁴ For a more detailed review, see Olszowy-Schlanger in the present volume.

⁵ Bareket 1999.

4 Analysis methods

The choice of the analytical protocol is usually based on the scientific question, the material to be analysed, and, not least, on the available instrumentation. Several methods of analysis are available today and have been used so far in the study of black inks.⁶ The BAM (Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung) in Berlin and the CSMC/UHH (Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, University of Hamburg) are working toward setting up a standard procedure for the study of writing materials and, more specifically, of inks. The procedure is based on reflectographic examination followed by non-destructive X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis using portable or transportable instruments so that the analysis can be carried out *in situ*. The first of these methods, infrared reflectography, has a practical application in the determination of the type of ink used: the color of soot ink/carbon ink is independent of the wavelength between 300–1700 nm; iron-gall ink loses opacity toward long wavelengths (i.e., 750–1000 nm) and becomes transparent at 1200 nm, while plant ink is transparent already at ~700 nm.⁷ The second technique, XRF, is a non-invasive method for characterizing inorganic materials and is commonly used to analyse the elemental composition of various objects in the field of cultural heritage, including manuscripts. The development and use of a fingerprint model based on the qualitative and quantitative detection of the inorganic components of iron-gall inks allows their reliable classification.⁸ In short, X-ray incident radiation causes ink components such as iron, copper, zinc, etc. to emit characteristic X-rays that are recorded as spectra by the XRF spectrometer. Evaluation of the spectra results in a fingerprint of the ink under investigation.

For our analysis in the Cambridge University Library in 2015, we used the following protocol:

1. Macroscopic observations concerning the type of the support and the state of preservation.
2. Ink typology: we used a portable microscope (Dino-Lite) with illumination in ultraviolet (UV, 390 nm), visible (VIS), and near infrared (NIR, 940 nm) regions of the electromagnetic spectrum and magnifications of x50 to x200. In addition, we used the micrographs to study the ductus of the script.

⁶ Aceto et al. 2008; Easton et al. 2010; Gambaro et al. 2009; Hahn et al. 2004; Lee et al. 2006; Mocella et al. 2015; Nastova et al. 2013; Rabin et al. 2014; Tack et al. 2016; Tanevska et al. 2014.

⁷ Mrusek et al. 1992; Rabin et al. 2014; Rabin and Binetti 2014.

⁸ Hahn et al. 2004.

3. Ink composition by micro X-ray fluorescence (micro XRF): we used a commercial micro-XRF spectrometer specially designed for the *in-situ* study of cultural heritage objects (ARTAX, Bruker GmbH). It consists of an air-cooled, low-power X-ray tube, polycapillary X-ray optics (measuring spot size 70 μm in diameter), an electro-thermally cooled Xflash detector, and a CCD camera for sample positioning. Furthermore, open helium purging in the excitation and detection paths allows the detection of light elements ($Z \geq 11$). In addition to the ARTAX, we used an imaging XRF spectrometer, the Jet Stream M6 (Bruker GmbH), during our visit in Cambridge in 2015. This device is specially designed to obtain detailed, spatially resolved elemental maps of large areas, so that we planned to use it to reveal damaged text in conjunction with multi-spectral imaging. Its major improvements include a variable measurement spot of 50 to 850 μm and the use of a high-speed probe that moves with a predefined speed over XY frame of 60×80 cm with the mounted sample. The absence of helium (He) purging is the major drawback of this setup since the elements $Z < 19$ cannot be securely quantified. It is, however, well suited for the identification of the metallic components of iron-gall inks.

Until now, two analytic campaigns for the study of the manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza collection housed in the University Library of Cambridge have been conducted.

In 2015, a team composed of scholars (Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Judith Kogel, and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra from the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris – EPHE), multispectral imaging specialists (Roger Easton, Michael Phelps, Gregory Heyworth, and Damian Kasotakis from the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library – EMEL), and a group of scientists from the BAM/UHH (Ira Rabin, Oliver Hahn, and Zina Cohen) studied a number of manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza collection in the Cambridge University Library. The group performing material analysis inspected 36 manuscripts using three different instruments: ARTAX and Jet Stream for XRF analysis and a three-colour USB-microscope Dino-Lite for reflectography. Manuscripts subjected to the studies were dated from the 9th to the 11th century and were written mostly for a religious purpose (Bible, Talmud, *ketubot* [wedding contracts]).

In 2016, a team composed of Ira Rabin, Olivier Bonnerot, and Zina Cohen analysed 17 documents written during the first half of the 11th century. The primary screening with the Dino-Lite microscope made it possible to sort the documents by ink type. To test as many variables as possible, we chose manuscripts with different writing substrates (paper, leather and parchment) and subjects, different ink types, and different signatures of the congregation leaders (Palestinian:

Efrayim ben Shemarya and Yefet ben David; Babylonian: Elḥanan ben Shemarya, Avraham ben Saḥlān, Saḥlān ben Avraham).

5 Example results

We plan to publish all the results at the end of the project. Here we would like to present two examples that elucidate our work and its impact on the history of manuscripts.

The first example is a leather fragment inscribed on both sides, Cambridge University Library, TS Misc.26.53.17. A portion of the Babylonian Talmud appears on the grain side (recto), whereas the flesh side displays a typical re-use of the writing support: another text appears that is turned 90 degrees from the orientation of the text on the recto side.⁹ The manuscript can be dated palaeographically to the period between the 9th and the 10th century. It contains notes added in darker ink beside the main text.

5.1 TS Misc.26.53.17, recto

Figure 1 shows an example from the series of images of the text portions on the recto side, which were photographed under visible illumination (left) and near-infrared illumination (NIR) (right). The larger letters that correspond to the main text are darker under the NIR illumination, testifying to the carbonaceous nature of the ink. In contrast, the smaller letters in the notes become hardly visible as the illumination changes from visible to NIR light, indicating that this ink belongs to the iron-gall type.

Results of the XRF analysis of the inks from the main text and the notes are shown in Figure 2. We conducted a series of point measurements along a line, which is called a line scan, that starts in the note (top-left image), passes over un-inscribed leather (top-middle image) and ends in the main text (top-right image). The graph below the images presents the evolution of the signals from elements calcium (Ca), iron (Fe), and potassium (K) during the progress of the scan. The element intensities of the middle part, i.e. the un-inscribed leather, describe the metal content of the writing support or background signal. On the left, i.e. the ink

⁹ This manuscript is included as number XVI in the paper by Olszowy-Schlanger, see in the present volume.

of the notes, the higher intensity of iron and potassium indicates that here we are dealing with iron-gall ink, confirming the result obtained by reflectography (Fig. 1). The right portion of the graph depicts the intensities of the ink of the main text. Here, the signal from iron and potassium do not rise above the background level of the leather, again confirming the result obtained by reflectography. Curiously, the intensity of the element Ca is highly heterogeneous in this fragment. This could be due to the leather processing or to water damage that occurred at a later time.

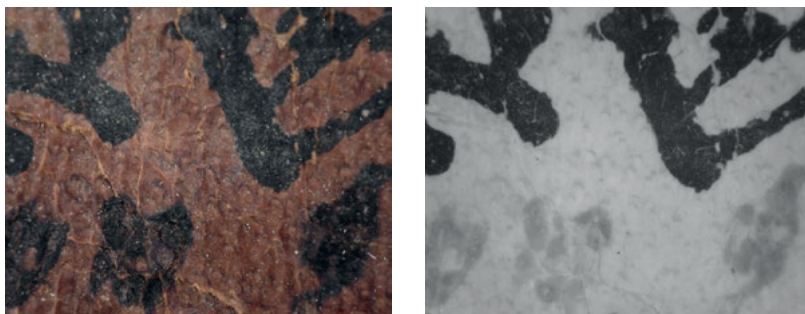


Fig. 1: Visible (left) and NIR (right) images of a text portion from the recto of the fragment T-S Misc. 26.53.17 at 50x magnification, made with the Dino-Lite AD413T-I2V USB.

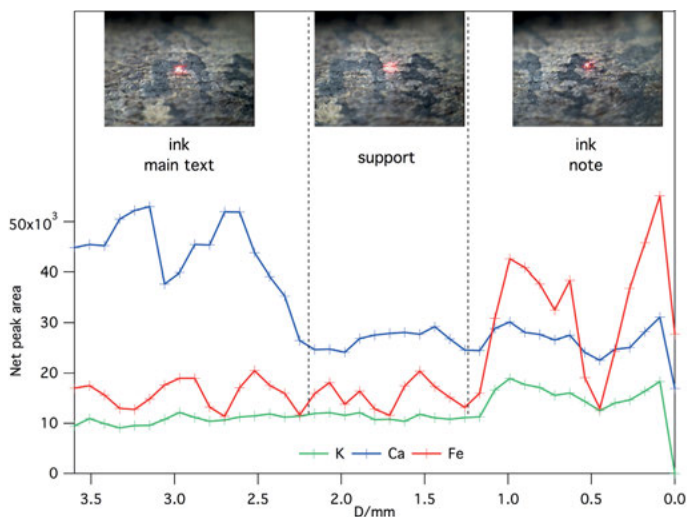


Fig. 2: μ -XRF line scan of the inks (note and main text) of the manuscript TS Misc.26.53.17; Fe – red, K – green, Ca – blue. Three micrographs indicate the area of the measurements that correspond to the respective element intensities on the graph. The scan was conducted with ARTAX (Bruker GmbH).

5.2 TS Misc.26.53.17, verso

In Figure 3, the micrographs show the letters from the inscription on the verso side of the fragment. The slight fading of the black ink on the right side (NIR light) as compared with that in the visible light (left) makes it possible to identify the ink's type as iron-gall. XRF analyses conducted in this case with both line scanning (ARTAX) and imaging (Jet Stream) XRF spectrometers also confirmed this conclusion. To illustrate the high resolving power of the Jet Stream, we included the distributions of Ca, K, and Fe in Figure 4.

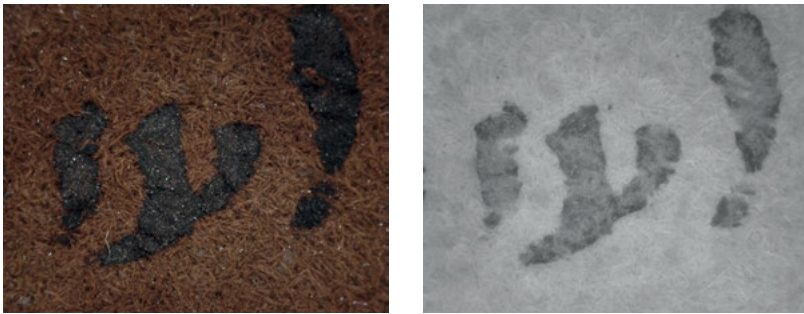


Fig. 3: Visible (left) and NIR (right) images of a text portion from the verso of the fragment TS Misc.26.53.17 at 50x magnification, made with the Dino-Lite AD413T-I2V USB.

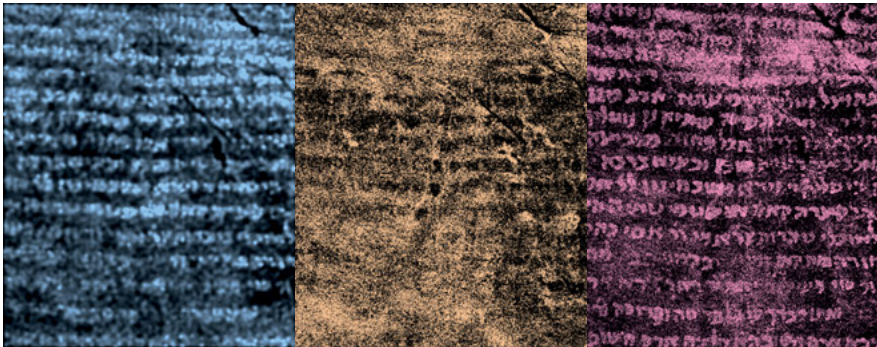


Fig. 4: Selected element maps obtained by macro-XRF scanning of a text portion from the flesh (verso) side of the manuscript TS Misc.26.53.17: blue – potassium (K), red – calcium (Ca) and purple – iron (Fe).

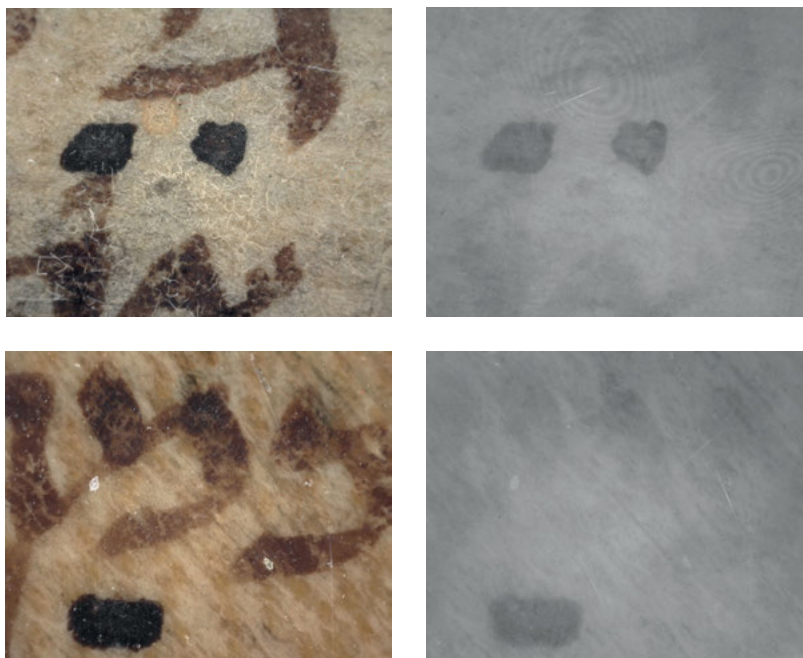


Fig. 5: Visible (left) and NIR (right) images of a text portion from the flesh (top) and grain (bottom) sides of the fragment T-S F17.4 at 50x magnification, made with the Dino-Lite AD413T-I2V USB.

The distributions of Fe and K are clearly associated with the ink, so that they produced single-element text images. Note that in the upper part of the imaged area the signal from iron loses its sharpness and is spread also over uninscribed leather, whereas the signal of potassium is not affected. Such appearance of the element maps is closely associated with the nature of the iron-gall inks that contain water-soluble ingredients and insoluble pigment – iron gallate. Water-soluble ingredients penetrate the substrate, whereas the pigment stays on the surface and is strongly affected by such external influences as mechanical abrasion or water damage. Element maps obtained by XRF document also showed displacements of the elements due to damage. The Ca map presents an extremely complicated picture here. First, the text damage presented in the iron map can be recognized in the Ca map. And second, the heterogeneity of Ca distribution is greater by far than that of iron. Taking into account that we have already detected it on the recto side, we may tentatively conclude that it reflects the use of a Ca-based compound in the leather preparation process.

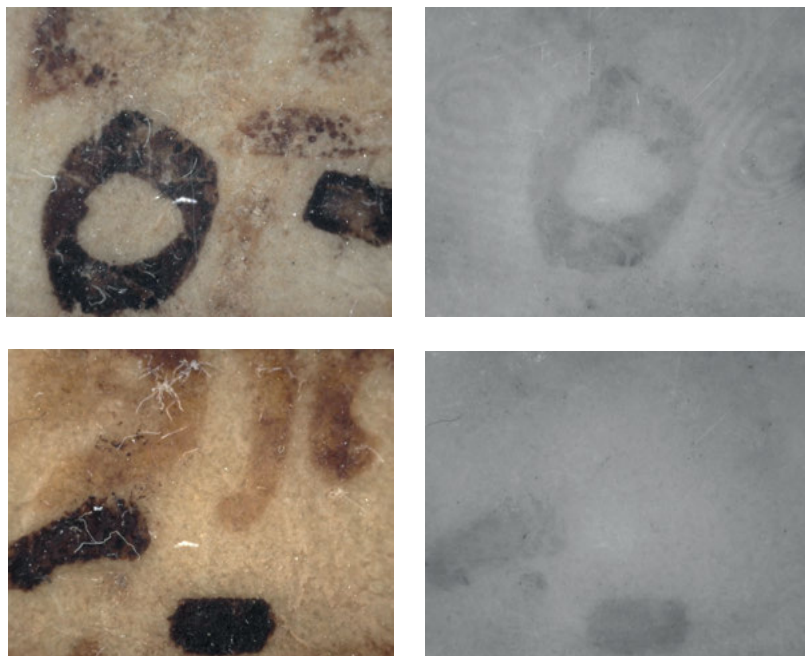


Fig. 6: Visible (left) and NIR (right) images of a text portion from the flesh (top) and grain (bottom) sides of the fragment TS 12.755 at 50x magnification, made with the Dino-Lite AD413T-12V USB.

In summary, the primary text on the recto sides of the leather scroll fragment, TS Misc.26.53.17, is written in carbon ink, whereas the notes and the text on the verso side appear in iron-gall ink.

Our second example illustrates our ability to compare iron-gall inks using the XRF method. Here we would like to explore whether ink analysis confirms the codicological observations that attributed the fragments TS F174¹⁰, TS 12.755¹¹ and TS 12.756¹² to the same Talmud manuscript.¹³ All three fragments are palimpsests with the upper text written during the 10th century and attributed by palaeographic analysis to the scribe hand found in the manuscript Hébreu 1489 (9) kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).

¹⁰ Olszowy-Schlanger/Shweka 2013; Sokoloff 1979; Tchernetska 2002.

¹¹ Olszowy-Schlanger/Shweka 2013; Sokoloff 1979.

¹² Olszowy-Schlanger/Shweka 2013; Sokoloff 1979.

¹³ Sussman 2012.

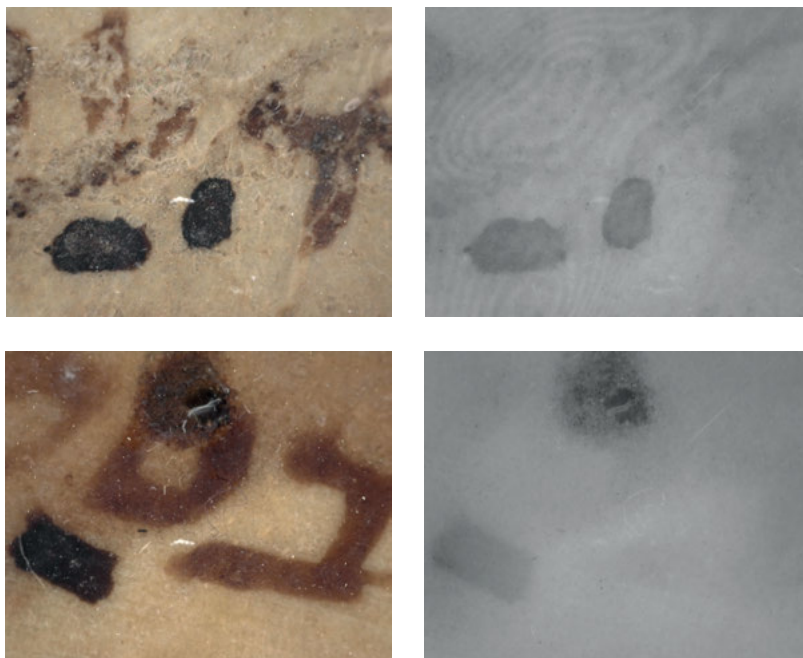


Fig. 7: Visible (left) and NIR (right) images of a text portion from the flesh (top) and grain (bottom) sides of the fragment TS 12.756 at 50x magnification, made with the Dino-Lite AD413T-12V USB.

Figures 5–7 show visible and near-infrared micrographs of the upper inks of the three fragments. From the fading of the inks' colour under NIR illumination, we can conclude that all inks belong to the iron-gall type. Yet, no conclusion can be derived of the ink composition, since the colour of the inks greatly depends on the degree of degradation. To compare the inks' compositions, we have to use XRF analysis. It should be mentioned here that we could compare only the upper inks, since the under-text changed its original composition in the course of the process of palimpsest production.¹⁴

To obtain statistically relevant results, we conducted multiple line scans on each of the fragments. Figure 8 presents an average ink fingerprint obtained for each group. As one can see from the average fingerprint of the inks, the fragments TS 12.755, TS 12.756 and TS F174 were indeed written with the same ink. The addition of vowels, however, was conducted in a different ink that contained almost three times more copper than that of the main text.

¹⁴ Cohen et al. 2016.

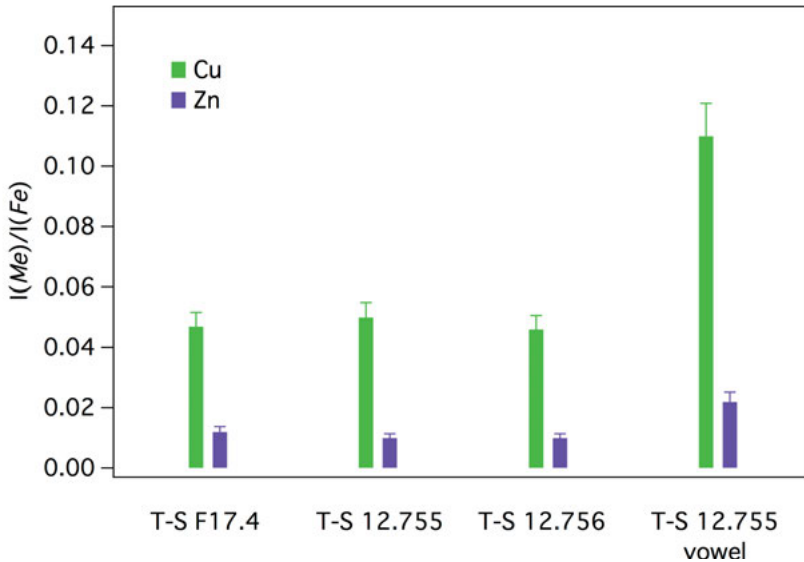


Fig. 8: Comparison of the fingerprint of the manuscripts TS F17.4, TS 12.755, and TS 12.756. Intensities of the metallic components, copper (Cu, green) and zinc (Zn, purple), are normalized to iron (Fe).

6 Conclusions

We demonstrated that, using reflectography and XRF analysis, it is possible to sort the inks by type. In the case of the iron-gall inks, we can use the ink fingerprint, i.e. the amount of the vitriol components normalized to iron, to make direct comparisons of the ink composition.

We would also like to stress that, though the methods of material analysis listed above have been successfully employed in the field of cultural heritage and conservation, including on ancient and medieval manuscripts,¹⁵ they have not yet been used to study fragments from the Cairo Geniza. Therefore, we believe that the current PhD research project is a pioneering study that will provide new insights into the history of Hebrew writing materials and their production techniques and materials and thus contribute new data to the field of Hebrew palaeography.

¹⁵ E.g. Hahn et al. 2008, Rabin et al. 2014.

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Abbreviations

AS	Additional Series, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library
BL	British Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
Misc.	Miscellaneous, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library
NS	New Series, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library
TS	Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library

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Bill Rebiger

‘Write on Three Ribs of a Sheep’: Writing Materials in Ancient and Mediaeval Jewish Magic

Abstract: Writing materials used for ancient and mediaeval Jewish magic include metals, stones, animal hides and bones, papyrus, paper, textiles, pottery and other objects. Inscribed finished products designated for magical purposes like amulets, magic bowls, gems, rings, pendants, seals and even skulls have been found. Moreover, numerous instruction texts are extant describing the process of writing and the producing and use of material artefacts. These instructions are attested in unsorted collections of various instructions as well as in applied manuals arranged in a more systematic manner. First and foremost, the fragments from the Cairo Geniza provide us with thousands of these texts. The question this paper tries to answer is whether there is a relationship between the choice of writing material and the intended purpose of the magical act. Another focus is on the correspondence between material artefacts and instruction texts.

1 Introduction

Fortunately, research on Jewish magic has made progress recently. New editions of magical texts have been published, conferences and workshops have been organised and the number of articles devoted to various aspects of Jewish magic has increased significantly. In this respect, two fields of research in particular seem to be inexhaustible due to the vast amount of source material available: first, Babylonian incantation bowls, and second, magical fragments from the Cairo Geniza. While almost all scholarly contributions in the field of Jewish magic have focused on editorial and philological aspects of the magical texts and on various facets such as the definition of Jewish magic, the relationship between Jewish magic and religion, Halakha or medicine, or the specifics of love or aggressive magic, for example, the study of the material aspects of Jewish magic is only

just starting.¹ This is rather surprising given that the idea of the ‘agency of things’ is one of the essential concepts in magic in general.²

To start with one aspect of the materiality of Jewish magic, I would like to present a survey of the use of different writing materials in Jewish magic in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.³ Unlike writing materials that are usually quite common in Jewish tradition, such as parchment and paper, this evidence can be supplemented to a considerable degree in the field of Jewish magic, as we shall see in the following. By a ‘writing material’, I mean both an artefact on which a text is written and the material side of the writing act itself, that is, the writing instrument or the ink that is used for the writing. In fact, Jewish magic is first and foremost textual magic. The title of John Austin’s famous book on performative speech acts, ‘How to do things with words’ (Austin 1962), fits perfectly when it comes to describing the essence of Jewish magic. Magical texts are intended to be either spoken or written (or both!). Even in the former case, the instructions for the speech act are written. Therefore, writing materials are crucial for the medial aspect of magic, that is, the magical act itself, from wishful thinking to the final result. However, writing materials are not only the medium of a text, but also the object of an act carried out by human beings: writing materials were used as amulets, worn as such on the body (arm, neck), buried in the earth, burnt in a fire, thrown into the sea and so on. Magical acts related to written objects will consequently be focused on as well in this article.

Almost all the examples I will present here come from the geographical area of the Middle East. The question that my article tries to answer is whether there is a relationship between the choice of writing material used and the intended purpose of the magical act and/or artefact. Another focus is on the correspondence between material artefacts as finished products and instruction texts.

¹ Some useful insights are provided by Markus Hilgert’s theoretical considerations of the ‘material turn’ concerning ancient textual artefacts (Hilgert 2010). Hilgert was mainly responsible for establishing the Collaborative Research Centre 933, ‘Material Text Cultures’ at the University of Heidelberg. A first draft of my article was presented at a conference entitled ‘Text–Image Relationship and Visual Elements in Written Hebrew Sources from the Middle Ages to Early Modern Period’ at the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien, Heidelberg, on 11 November 2013. In addition, see the proceedings collected in Boschung/Bremmer 2015.

² Cf. already Speyer 1992, and Englehardt 2013.

³ Another study should be devoted to the *materiae magicae* in Jewish magic along the lines of Lev/Amar 2008. In addition, other material results of magical activities in Jewish magic such as voodoo dolls and images also deserve further investigation. The latter topic is currently being addressed by Giuseppe Veltri and Michael Kohs in their DFG funded research project ‘Magia Figurata: The Visual Effect of Jewish Magical Manuscripts of the Early Modern Era’ affiliated to the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at the University of Hamburg.

Following Gideon Bohak's study of Jewish magic, I would like to distinguish between finished products or applied texts on the one hand and instructions or recipes on the other.⁴ Finished products or applied texts include amulets, magic bowls, rings, gems, seals and even skulls, for example. Ideally, material evidence of these finished products is provided by archaeological excavations, but mostly – and regrettably – by the market for antiques, which means the network of illegal digging, dubious dealers and obsessive collectors. Durable materials like metals, stones and bones naturally survive the passage of time. In addition, amulets made of parchment or paper have been preserved, first and foremost in the Cairo Geniza, the main source of texts related to Jewish magic in this cultural area from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

Instructions or recipes describing the production of finished products and/or the performance of a magical act or ritual are found usually in manuscripts. Again, the Cairo Geniza provides us with thousands of related fragments. In general, these manuscripts are written on parchment or paper, but the instruction texts collected in these manuscripts mention many more writing materials as well, as we shall see later on. An overlapping of both distinctions – finished products and instructions – can be seen in systematic collections of recipes and even in manuals for magical practitioners; these could be regarded as finished products as well as instruction texts.

2 Writing materials of magical artefacts as finished products

2.1 Amulets

A rather minor, but nevertheless very important corpus of magical Jewish artefacts from biblical times to the Byzantine period consists of inscribed metal amulets (Fig. 1). While only two or three metal amulets from biblical times have been found, about 50 to 60 Jewish amulets dating from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine period are currently known to us.⁵ Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked have published about 31 metal amulets in two volumes.⁶ These amulets are made

⁴ Bohak 2008, 144; cf. already Schäfer/Shaked 1994, 5.

⁵ Cf. Bohak 2008, 149–153.

⁶ Naveh/Shaked ³1987, 39–122; Naveh/Shaked 1993, 41–109.

of metal lamellae, that is, thin plates or pieces of foil made of gold, silver, bronze, copper or lead. The shape or format of an amulet is frequently rectangular or elongated. The text written on them is inscribed – or, more precisely, engraved – in square script with a sharp instrument, usually only on one side. The language of most of the Jewish amulets is Aramaic and/or Hebrew. Besides the verbal text, there are symbols, signs and so-called *characteres* on them, that is, letters of a magical alphabet.⁷ Obviously, the amulets were folded or sometimes rolled up and placed in a special tube or box. In some cases, the whole container with the amulet inside it has been found.⁸ Amulets could be worn around a person's neck, an arm or a leg this way. In cases where their provenance is known, we are able to tell that the amulets originated from Syria, Egypt, Sicily, Georgia and even England. Most of them come from Palestine, however.⁹ Some of them were buried in graves or placed under the cornerstones or doorsteps of people's houses. Other amulets were excavated in the ruins of a synagogue.

Normally, the text on the amulet mentions its purpose and the name of its owner. The purpose of an amulet is generally an apotropaic one: to protect the bearer against evil forces. This could even be connected with healing tasks since evil forces were (and still are) considered to be responsible for illness and bad luck; many amulets were designed to provide protection against fever or prevent difficulties during childbirth. In addition to this, there are amulets that are devoted to love or to being successful in life. A few amulets made of lead are particularly interesting as these are meant to invoke a curse on someone. While lead amulets – so-called *defixiones* – were very popular in Roman culture,¹⁰ they were rather unusual in ancient Jewish culture, it seems.¹¹ The practice of using metal amulets did not end in the early Byzantine period by any means, but continued through the Middle Ages and is still extant today.¹²

In general, the existence of amulets made of metal was primarily due to their durability. Another important aspect of metal amulets is the value of the material that was used to make them, of course. This point was related to the social status of the amulet's wearer.¹³ The majority of amulet users did not belong to the higher echelons of society, however, as most of the amulets were made of

7 Cf. Bohak 2008, 250–251.

8 Cf., e.g., Naveh/Shaked ²1987, 42 ('Amulet 1'), 58 ('Amulet 4'), 70 ('Amulet 7').

9 Eshel/Leiman 2010, 190, name fifteen published and nineteen unpublished Jewish amulets of known Palestinian provenance.

10 Cf. Gager 1992.

11 Cf. Bohak 2008, 319 and 343.

12 Cf. Schrire 1966; Shachar 1981, 237–317; Davis/Frenkel 1995.

13 Cf. Eshel/Leiman 2010, 194.



Fig. 1: Bronze amulet (4th–7th CE) for the protection of a woman called Sarah and her newborn child against demons by invoking the help of three angels. BLMJ 7052 from the Jeannette and Jonathan Rosen Collection. Courtesy of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem, Photographer: Moshe Caine.

organic material such as leather, parchment, papyrus, paper, other plant material or even cloth. These materials are perishable and are not resistant to humidity – or vermin, for that matter. Sometimes this is the reason why only the metal con-

tainer that an amulet was kept in has survived, not the actual amulet itself. The exception to the rule here is the existence of dozens of amulets – perhaps even hundreds of them – written on parchment or paper, which were preserved in the Cairo Geniza for centuries.¹⁴ An early example of sustainability is provided by an amulet written on a sheet of used paper.¹⁵ Furthermore, there is clear evidence of the mass production of prefabricated amulets in the Cairo Geniza.¹⁶ In general, the texts on these amulets exhibit the same features as the metal amulets inscribed several hundred years earlier.

The production of amulets was a business conducted by professional and semi-professional scribes. In some cases, there are many mistakes in the magical text and the unskilled script used also reveals that the scribe who worked on the amulet was obviously inexperienced.¹⁷ Amulet texts were usually composed by magicians or scribes based on magical formulas used as a kind of template and on the specific wishes of their clients.

2.2 Rings, gems, pendants and seals

To complete the picture, I would like to mention at least a few more magical artefacts that have survived: rings, gems, pendants and seals.¹⁸ Most of these items are non-verbal and many of them are only engraved with images, signs and symbols; only a few of them are inscribed with a couple of magical names or words. Rings, pendants and seals are usually made of gold, silver or bronze. The ‘ring’ or ‘seal of King Solomon’ is especially prominent in texts on Jewish magic.¹⁹ Only a dozen of

¹⁴ Cf. the edition of Geniza amulets in the collections in Naveh/Shaked ²1987, 216–217 (‘Geniza 1’), 220–225 (‘Geniza 3–4’), 237–240 (‘Geniza 7–8’); Naveh/Shaked 1993, 152–157 (‘Geniza 10’), 164–166 (‘Geniza 12’), 209–212 (‘Geniza 19’), 233–234 (‘Geniza 27’), 238–242 (‘Geniza 29’); Schiffman/Swartz 1992, 64–164; Schäfer/Shaked 1994, 151–234; Schäfer/Shaked 1997, 232–277.

¹⁵ See Schäfer/Shaked 1997, 274–277: CUL TS K 1.106 containing an amulet on fol. 1a and remains of an Arabic contract on fol. 1b; cf. also Naveh/Shaked 1993, 230–234: CUL TS Misc. 10.35 together with CUL TS Misc. 10.122 (‘Geniza 26’), and CUL TS Misc. 29.4 (‘Geniza 27’) containing recipes or an amulet on one side and several lines in Arabic characters, apparently unrelated, on the other side.

¹⁶ Cf. Bohak 2009, focusing on CUL TS AS 143.26.

¹⁷ Cf., e.g., Naveh/Shaked 1993, 152–157 and plates 35–36: CUL TS K 1.18 + TS K 1.30 (‘Geniza 10’); *ibid.*, 164–166 and plate 39: CUL TS K 1.42 (‘Geniza 12’); *ibid.*, 172–174 and plates 44–45: CUL TS K 1.80 (‘Geniza 15’); *ibid.*, 174–181 and plates 46–48: CUL TS K 1.91 + TS K 1.117 (‘Geniza 16’); Schäfer/Shaked 1994, 171–175: CUL TS 8.275; *ibid.*, 176–182: CUL TS Misc. 10.31.

¹⁸ Cf. Bohak 2008, 158–165; Shachar 1981.

¹⁹ See Torijano 2002, 76–78, and 2013, 115–117.

the 5,000-odd magical gems from Late Antiquity²⁰ that are known are written in Hebrew or Aramaic; most are written in Latin or Greek. The gems are sometimes made of rare and precious stones, and sometimes we find semi-precious stones such as jasper and carnelian, too.

2.3 Babylonian incantation bowls

One rather separate field in Jewish magic is related to Babylonian magic or incantation bowls.²¹ All of these magical bowls were found in an area now encompassed by Iraq and western Iran (Fig. 2, Fig. 3). The phenomenon of magical bowls is limited to the period from the 5th to the 8th century CE. Currently, thousands of incantation bowls are known to exist and about hundreds of their texts have been published to date, e.g. by James Montgomery²², Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked,²³ Dan Levene²⁴, Christa Müller-Kessler²⁵, Shaul Shaked, James Ford and Siam Bhayro,²⁶ and Marco Moriggi²⁷. The bowls have been collected by public libraries or are owned by private collectors now. The material of which they are made is clay. The common size of a magical bowl is approx. 16 cm in diameter and 5 to 6 cm in depth. The bowls are inscribed and often have an image of a demon on them in the centre.

The script written on them usually runs inside the bowl, spiralling from the outer rim to the centre of the bowl. The language on the bowls is usually Babylonian Aramaic. In addition to this, there are also bowls that are written in Mandaic, Syriac, Pahlavi or Arabic; this means that Jews were not the only ones to use such items. Most of the texts in the bowls are incantations. The purpose of the bowls was usually to protect the owner's house and all its inhabitants against evil forces. In cases where the bowls were found *in situ*, they were turned upside down; in analogy to mouse traps, the bowls can therefore be fittingly described as 'demon traps'. When called by his (or her) name, the demon was attracted to the bowl. He (or she) followed the direction of the script until he got caught in the

²⁰ See Bonner 1950; Michel 2004a and 2004b; also: The Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database (CBd): <http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/talismans/> (last accessed: 20 April 2017).

²¹ Cf. Bohak 2008, 183–193.

²² Montgomery 1913.

²³ Naveh/Shaked ¹⁹⁸⁷; Naveh/Shaked 1993.

²⁴ Levene 2003; Levene 2013.

²⁵ Müller-Kessler 2005.

²⁶ Shaked/Ford/Bhayro 2013.

²⁷ Moriggi 2014.



Fig. 2: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Hebrew Bowl B2965A, Iraq, Nippur, c. 6th–7th CE, terracotta. The bowl shows the image of a chained demon surrounded by eleven to twelve lines of Hebrew text. Courtesy of Penn Museum.



Fig. 3: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Hebrew Bowl 85-48-905, Iraq, Nippur, c. 6th–7th CE, terracotta. The bowl shows the image of a bearded (?) demon whose arms are chained (?). The demon is not situated in the middle of the bowl but at the side between seven lines of pseudo-script. Courtesy of Penn Museum.

middle of the bowl.²⁸ In addition, pairs of bowls have been found that were put together like a ball, the idea doubtless being that the demon could be trapped inside.²⁹

2.4 Magical skulls

Perhaps the most puzzling – and macabre – evidence of Jewish magic is that of human skulls inscribed with magic texts in Aramaic (Fig. 4). Recently, Dan Levene published the texts written on five skulls.³⁰ Unfortunately, the provenance of these skulls is not attested precisely, but judging by the script, language and content of the texts, which are very similar to those on Babylonian incantation bowls, a late antique or early mediaeval date and Babylonian origin are possible. There can be no doubt whatsoever about the ‘Jewishness’ of these artefacts,

²⁸ Cf. Naveh/Shaked² 1987, 15.

²⁹ Cf. Levene 2011.

³⁰ Levene 2006.

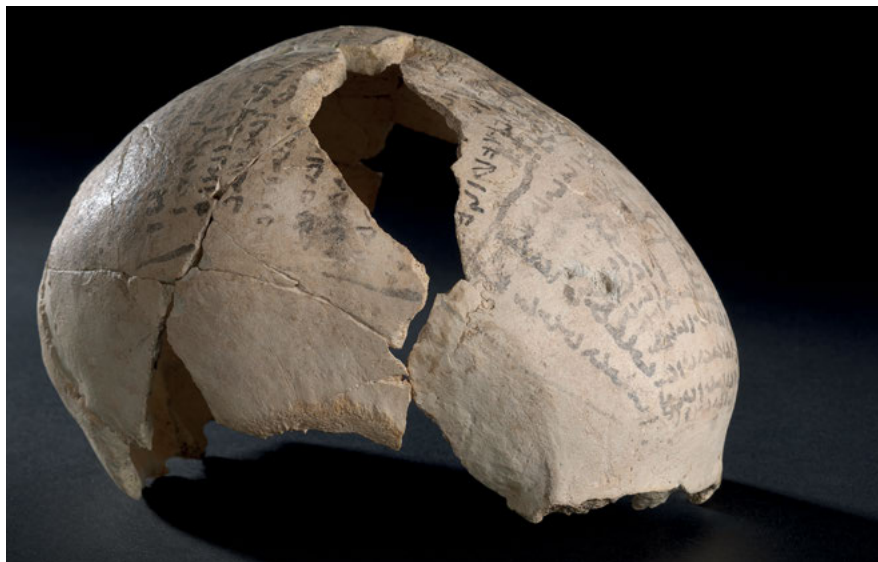


Fig. 4: Magical skull inscribed with Hebrew letters and pseudo-script; Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 2459. © bpk / Vorderasiatisches Museum, SMB / Photographer: Olaf M. Teßmer.

however. The purpose of these skulls is rather uncertain, but there seems to be no relation to necromancy. The text on one skull includes the words ‘healing from Heaven’, which is very common in Jewish magical texts. At least some of these skulls have been shown to be female, but at present we have no explanation as to why they were used. It should be stressed that inscribed human skulls are highly unusual in a Jewish context; no instruction text on Jewish magic has been published so far that describes the use of human skulls. All we have is evidence of writing on animal bones, as we shall see later.

3 Instruction texts used for Jewish magic

As a rule, one can generally find two main topics in instruction texts: first of all, the performance of magical acts described in varying detail, and second, in a narrower sense, the preparation of a specific magical artefact such as an amulet. Fragments from the Cairo Geniza provide us with thousands of miscellaneous manuscripts related to Jewish magic, currently making it the main source of information at our disposal. Besides the amulets already mentioned, hundreds of instruction texts dealing with the performance of magical acts and rituals have mainly been found. These are usually written on parchment or paper. We cannot

say which instructions were actually carried out, of course, as this information is usually missing.³¹ Sometimes the common phrase ‘checked and proven’ or a similar remark was written at the end of an instruction text. This could merely be advertising, however. While many of the described rituals are related to performative speech acts, others are focused on writing acts. In this regard, almost anything conceivable can be used as writing material. I shall mention a few examples in the next section.

3.1 Writing materials

In terms of the finished products discussed so far, only amulets, rings, gems, pendants and seals are actually mentioned in the instruction texts; there is nothing in these texts referring to writing on magical bowls or human skulls. According to the reviewed instruction texts which have been published to date, most amulets are made of parchment or paper. Sometimes the parchment is specified as kosher parchment or as fine parchment, that is, vellum. This practice is somehow related to the making of phylacteries (*tefillin* in Hebrew). The skin of various animals is mentioned, such as that of gazelles (deer came later), sheep, calves, oxen, lions and even cats and dogs. In the very popular Jewish handbook called *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim* (‘Book of the Magical Use of Psalms’), the skin of a dog should be inscribed according to one instruction text devoted to creating hatred between a man and his wife.³² Without any explicit explanation in the text itself, it seems that the widespread image of dogs as evil, demonic creatures is at the heart of this usage.

Furthermore, amulets could be made of textiles such as a rag, piece of cloth, a shirt or piece of cotton. In one instruction text from the Cairo Geniza describing the production of an amulet, for instance, it says this:

It is for love. Write it on a piece of cloth from his garment.³³

On the next page of the same Geniza fragment concerning another instruction on how to separate two people from each other, we find the following:

³¹ Cf. Rebigier 2010b.

³² Rebigier 2010a, 111* (s. 173 concerning Psalm 140: Sephardic recension).

³³ Naveh/Shaked 1993, 231: CUL TS Misc. 10.35, 1:1 (‘Geniza 26’).



Fig. 5: Cambridge University Library, TS AS 142.174, fols 1r and 1v. Cloth amulet. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Write on a piece of cloth from the garment of whoever you wish.³⁴

Obviously, the cloth from the garment of the respective person symbolises the person him- or herself. It can therefore be used in magical acts especially concerned with personal affairs. There is, indeed, evidence of this practice, as can be seen in a love amulet written on cloth that was found in the Cairo Geniza and published by Naveh and Shaked (Fig. 5).³⁵ (Unfortunately, we do not know whether this piece of cloth once belonged to the beloved person.)

A variety of metals are mentioned in instruction texts describing writing materials, such as gold, silver, bronze, iron, lead, tin and copper. The *Sefer ha-Razim* I ('The Book of the Secrets'), for instance, which is probably the best-known magical manual in Judaism, reads as follows in paragraph 160:

Write (the names of) these angels on a gold lamella and put it into a silver tube.³⁶

While this instruction corresponds with the surviving finished products, it must be emphasised that the long series of angelic names mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Razim* I is not actually found in the corpus of ancient metal amulets.

As mentioned above, lead amulets were very common in Hellenistic Greek and Latin magic in Late Antiquity. The purpose of these so-called *defixiones* was an aggressive one, viz. to harm or even kill somebody. The rather rare evidence of a Jewish lead amulet has a fine counterpart in an instruction text from the Cairo Geniza:

³⁴ Ibid., 2:2.

³⁵ Naveh/Shaked ²1987, 216–217: CUL TS AS 142.174 ('Geniza 1').

³⁶ Rebiger/Schäfer 2009, 54*–55* (my translation).

For extermination: [Take] a lamella of lead [and] write [on it] in the first hour of the day and bury it in a fresh grave.³⁷

Then the incantation text for the killing of the victim follows. A later scribe tried to 'soften' the purpose of this incantation by adding the gloss: <[For] a disease>. Gideon Bohak presented an amulet containing a textual parallel to this incantation text.³⁸ In his analysis, he stressed the point that this Jewish amulet is not made of lead, but of vellum. In his opinion, Jewish magicians tended – for unknown reasons – to avoid manufacturing lead *defixiones* in general.³⁹

Furthermore, in other instruction texts, various metal products are mentioned which are to be inscribed, such as rings, pendants, seals and even a cold-water pipe. Other writing materials mentioned in the instruction texts from the Cairo Geniza include stones like the so-called *shoham*⁴⁰ stones, marble, gems such as sapphires, and elements like sulphur. Shards of pottery (ostraca) were very popular as writing materials in Late Antiquity. Potshards from a river,⁴¹ the sea⁴² or a junction⁴³ are mentioned frequently in the instruction texts. Other instruction texts require unbaked shards to be used to destroy a dovescot⁴⁴ or a shard to be used that had been dried in the sun.⁴⁵

Various plants that were used as writing materials are mentioned, too. One instruction concerning impotency reads as follows, for example:

To release [magic]: Write it on three leaves of an elm tree and wipe it away with water from a jar. And give the bridegroom and bride [the water] to drink.⁴⁶

The list of other plants proposed as writing materials includes laurel, thornbush, pomegranate, fig, reed and willow. One very typical instruction for strengthening the memory⁴⁷ – referred to as 'opening of the heart' – reads:

Opening of the heart: Write Psalm 119:97 on an apple or an ethrog and eat it.⁴⁸

37 Schäfer/Shaked 1994, 32: CUL TS K 1.56, fol. 2a/6–7 (my translation).

38 Bohak 2008, 144–148.

39 Ibid., 155.

40 Probably the carnelian; cf. Gen 2:12; Job 28:16.

41 Schäfer/Shaked 1999, 146: CUL TS NS 317.18, fol. 2a/19f.

42 Ibid., 145: CUL TS AS 142.13, fol. 1a/7 and 1a/18.

43 Ibid., 289: CUL TS NS 216.23, fol. 1b/3.

44 Ibid., 204: CUL TS Ar. 36.122, fol. 1b/3f.

45 Ibid., 360: CUL TS NS 324.92, fol. 1b/20.

46 Ibid., 70: CUL TS K 1.162, fol. 1d/1f. (my translation).

47 Cf. Trachtenberg 1970, 190–192; Swartz 1996, 43–47; Bos 1995; Harari 2004.

48 Schäfer/Shaked 1999, 340: CUL TS AS 143.169, fol. 2a/19f. (my translation).

As I mentioned earlier, there is no evidence of the use of human skulls in instruction texts, but animal bones are mentioned. One instruction text from a collection of magical recipes stemming from the Cairo Geniza says this, for example (Fig. 6):

To change [a] man's mind: Write on three ribs of a sheep or cow, and there should be no flesh on the ribs. [Then an incantation of Satan and various angels and a specification of the purpose follow:] in order to turn the heart and kidneys of NN to great fear [of God] and love of Heaven. Then throw the ribs into the fire or into an oven.⁴⁹

The editors of this text did not explain the meaning and relationship between the purpose of the spell and *materiae magicae* in their commentary. In Christian tradition, at least, it is reasonable to imagine the sheep as a symbol of piety, but I would suggest that a sheep is not essential here, which is why the instruction allows a cow to be used. The ribs *are* crucial, though, and they are the hidden link. The Hebrew word for rib is שֵׁלָה (*šela*'), written with the vowels *šere* and *qamaṣ*. There happens to be another Hebrew word with the same consonants, but with a different vocalisation: שֵׁלָה vocalised with *segol* and *pataḥ*, which is pronounced only slightly differently. This lexeme means 'fall' or 'sin', which is more appropriate for the purpose of our instruction text, namely to become a pious man, that is, a man without sin. So we can assume a kind of hidden pun here concerning the relationship between the purpose of the instruction and the recommended writing material. The additional instruction that there should be no flesh on the ribs is also clearer now, too: probably, the sins of the flesh are being alluded to in this case. Accordingly, the fire is meant to consume the person's sins when the ribs are thrown into it. Another example of the use of an animal bone for a magical act is the following:

For hate: You shall write on the shoulder of a dog with the blood of a donkey, and you shall bury the shoulder under the head of the person(s) you wish hate to fall upon.⁵⁰

The stereotypical evil character and symbolic meaning of a dog has already been mentioned. It is interesting that an alternative is presented in the continuation of this instruction:

If you do not manage to get that, you should write it in a bowl, which you should wash with the water of a well which has not seen the sun.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Schäfer/Shaked 1994, 137–138: CUL TS K 1.28, fol. 2b/13–21 (my translation).

⁵⁰ Naveh/Shaked 1993, 149–150: CUL TS K 1.15, 1:11–13 ('Geniza 9'). The shoulder is also attested in Greek magic (omoplatoscopy).

⁵¹ Naveh/Shaked 1993. Note that this bowl is not the same as the so-called magic bowls discussed above.

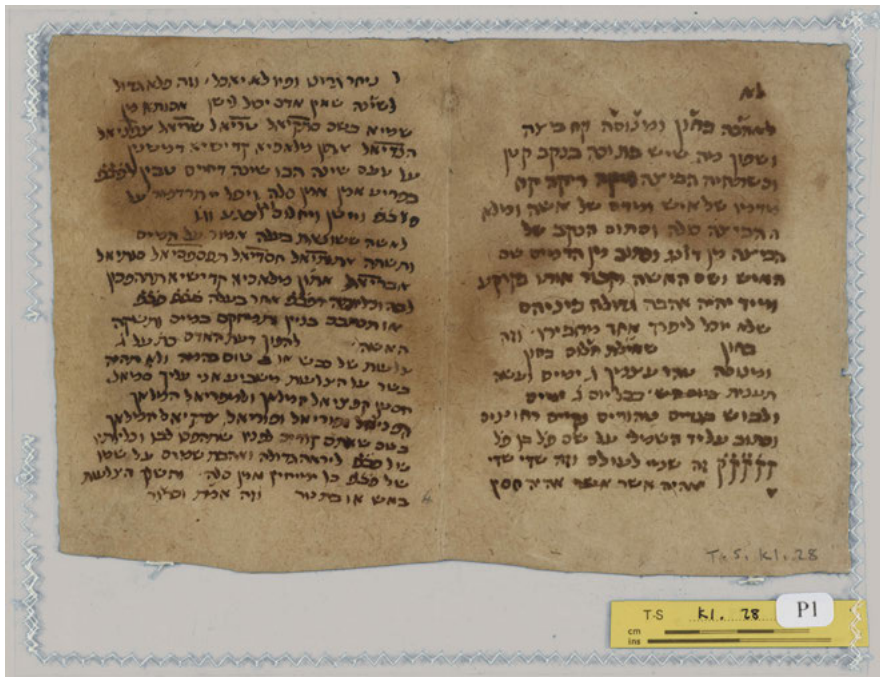


Fig. 6: Cambridge University Library TS K 1.28, fols 1r–2v. Fragment of a magical handbook (*segullot*). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Another part of an animal is used as writing material in the following instruction, but the meaning of the words is not absolutely unclear:

Take a hoof [?] and write on it.⁵²

One animal product is used very often in Jewish magic: an egg. The symbolic meaning of this very accessible and cheap food is manifold. In one case, for instance, an instruction for malediction reads:

To cause fever: Proven. Take an egg laid on the sixth day and write [names] on it.⁵³

⁵² Naveh/Shaked 1987, 233; CUL TS K 1.73, 3:8 ('Geniza 6').

⁵³ Schäfer/Shaked 1999, 32; CUL TS Ar. 44.26, fol. 1b/3f. (my translation).

In fact, eggshells inscribed with Hebrew letters were found in Babylonia close to magic bowls.⁵⁴ Another text concerning ‘positive’ magic says the following:

For love: Checked and proven. Take an egg and pour what is inside it through a small hole. When the egg is empty, take the blood [of the] man and the blood [of the] woman and fill the whole egg [with it]. Close the hole of the egg with wax, write the name of the man and the name of the woman [on the eggshell] with the blood and bury it in the earth. Great love will immediately be felt between them so that neither of them can leave the other. That is proven.⁵⁵

Here, obviously, the egg is a symbol of fertility and the blood is a symbol of life. Another text dealing with difficulties in childbirth gives this advice:

Write on the skin of an unborn animal.⁵⁶

In this case, the link between childbirth and the unborn animal is obviously the analogy of giving birth.

A direct connection between the writing material and the intended purpose can be seen in healing magic. In one example, some instructions exist on writing names directly on the side of the person’s body that hurts. According to James Frazer, this technique of magical ‘tattooing’ could be called ‘contagious magic’.⁵⁷ In the *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*, paragraph 135 concerning Psalm 119:49–56, we find the following instruction:

Write [the verses of the psalm] on the side of the spleen.⁵⁸

In a similar way, the following instruction from another collection of recipes reads as follows:

For the sting of a scorpion, write over the pain[ful spot].⁵⁹

In fact, this writing technique is not only attested in healing magic, but also concerning a request to have a specific dream, as in the following instruction:

54 Cf. Hilprecht 1904, 447–448; Bohak 2008, 184.

55 Schäfer/Shaked 1994, 135–136: CUL TS K 1.28, fol. 1a/2–11 (my translation).

56 Schäfer/Shaked 1999, 137: CUL TS AS 143.171, fol. 2a/6 (my translation).

57 Cf. Frazer 1998, 26–28 and 37–44.

58 Rebiger 2010a, 88*–89* (O1531b and S1551; my translation).

59 Naveh/Shaked 1993, 178: CUL TS K 1.117, 5:12 (‘Geniza 16’).

A dream request, tested and proven. Purify yourself three times and fast once every three days and wear pure, clean, washed clothes and write on your left arm: concerning the name of N, son of N, QQ Q Q Q, *This is my name forever, and this is* (Exodus 3:15), Shaddai, Shaddai, I am that I am, Ḥasin Yah, one whose name is YY of Hosts, YY of Hosts, YY of Hosts, YY, God, YY God, who is seated on the wheels of the Merkava. I call you Michael, the great prince, to come to me and show me all I request of you on this night, truly. Fast – do not eat or drink for 42 days and one night. Then sleep in a pure place and he will tell you everything you wish to know.⁶⁰

In this spell, the incantation is written directly on the person's left arm, where phylacteries are usually worn by an observant male Jew during morning prayer on weekdays.

3.2 Writing techniques and the agency of writing

The usual writing techniques were inscribing, scratching and engraving. In magic, however, the writing act can be related to the agency of the writing itself. Thus, a very common technique in Jewish magic is to use the script and writing material as a channel for expressing powerful magical words; the inscribed object could be eaten or the writing could be licked off, for instance. The technique of dissolving the writing in a liquid and then drinking the liquid was very widespread.⁶¹ One instruction text concerning the strengthening of the memory says this, for instance:

For opening of the heart: Write on a fingernail and lick [the writing] off with your tongue.⁶²

There is a popular habit among Jewish schoolchildren of eating inscribed cakes for this reason.⁶³ In another instruction text for the purpose of acquiring grace and beauty, the production of a cosmetic ointment containing rose oil and magical names is described:

[Write] on the palm of a hand and wash it off with rose oil, then smear [the oil you have used] over your face.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Schäfer/Shaked 1994, 136: CUL TS K 1.28, fol. 1a/11–16 (my translation); cf. Swartz 2006, 315–316.

⁶¹ Cf. Rebigier 2014, 103–107.

⁶² Schäfer/Shaked 1999, 169: Westminster College Misc. 117, fol. 1a/8 (my translation).

⁶³ Ibid., 108: CUL TS Misc. 11.12, fol. 1a/4; cf., e.g., ibid., 169: Westminster College Misc. 117, fol. 1a/4; cf. Marcus 1996, 47–73.

⁶⁴ Naveh/Shaked 1993, 200: CUL TS K 1.143, 13:7–9 ('Geniza 18').

It was common to drink magically manipulated liquids, especially in instructions for healing a person:

Write it inside a cup and give [it] to the sick man to drink.⁶⁵

3.3 Inks

The list of inks mentioned in the instruction texts includes plain ink, *rubia tinctorum* ('dyer's madder'; *pu'a* in Hebrew), blood (from a fowl⁶⁶ or chicken,⁶⁷ for instance), myrrh and wine.

Furthermore, we can add an example showing the symbolic meaning of inks. In a chapter of a magical manual dedicated to love and sympathy, it says:

Write with musk and saffron.⁶⁸

Saffron is also used as a kind of ink in other love spells.⁶⁹ These very expensive ingredients were thought to be appropriate for a love charm.

To end my overview of various writing materials and inks mentioned in instruction texts from the Cairo Geniza, I would like to give a fine example of a misunderstanding. In paragraph 58 of the *Sefer ha-Razim* I, we can read the following instruction:

Take hieratic paper and write on it with ink [made] of myrrh.⁷⁰

The slightly corrupted words used here for 'hieratic paper' and 'ink of myrrh' are of Greek origin: *χάρτης ιερατικόν* and *συρνό-μελαν*. 'Hieratic paper' means the papyrus of the Egyptian priests inscribed with hieroglyphics. The ink made of myrrh is a black mixture of ink and myrrh also known as the 'ink of Hermes'. This kind of papyrus and ink is well attested in the *Papyri graecae magicae*.⁷¹ It is easy to reconstruct the understanding of this vocabulary in the Egyptian context of Late

⁶⁵ Schäfer/Shaked 1999, 162: CUL TS NS 175.58, fol. 2b/2 (my translation).

⁶⁶ Naveh/Shaked 1993, 179: CUL TS K 1.117, 7:2 ('Geniza 16').

⁶⁷ Ibid., 7:12.

⁶⁸ Schäfer/Shaked 1999, 57: JTSL ENA 1177, fol. 20b/6 (my translation).

⁶⁹ Cf. Naveh/Shaked ²1987, 229: CUL TS K 1.70, 4:4 ('Geniza 5'), 233: CUL TS K 1.73, 2:8 ('Geniza 6').

⁷⁰ Rebiger/Schäfer 2009, 20*–21*: paragraph 58 (my translation).

⁷¹ Cf. PGM I/23f.; II/61; IV/2393; V/305ff., and XIII/314. In the context of Jewish magic from the Cairo Geniza, 'hieratic paper' is also attested in Schäfer/Shaked 1999, 250: CUL TS NS 312.118, fol. 2b/10.

Antiquity, but in the later transmission of the *Sefer ha-Razim* I, the knowledge of the Greek language and the cult of the Egyptian priest that one needed was totally lost. Consequently, the Judaeo-Arabic translation of this passage attested in the Geniza fragment Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb.f.45 (G22) reads:

Take paper from a place called Iritiqon.⁷²

And the rather late Yemenite manuscripts Ms. Tel Aviv, Bill Gross 42 (TA42), and Ms. New York, Public Library, Ms. Hebr. 40, dated in the 18th–19th century, read:

Take a new sheet of paper and write on it with boiled ink (*deyo mevushal* in Hebrew).⁷³

The scribes of the parallel European manuscripts did not understand anything in this case and interpreted these words as *nomina barbara*, that is, strange, but powerful names. So it is no wonder, one may joke, that this magical instruction did not work, at least not in later times.

4 Summary

In many cases, there is a clear correspondence between the writing materials recommended in magical instruction texts and the finished products found in excavations or otherwise known from collections and the antique market. This is especially true of amulets, magical rings, gems, pendants and seals. The most common writing materials of all that were used for amulets were parchment, paper, potshards and various types of metal. Sometimes even textiles were used, like the love amulet on cloth from the Cairo Geniza mentioned above. Furthermore, metals were used for the fabrication of rings and pendants. Gems were made from stones and seals were prepared from wax. The advantage of using these materials rather than others is their relative durability. In contrast, amulets that were once written on parts of plants such as leaves, twigs or pieces of bark have been lost completely due to natural decay. In general, the same is true of animal products like eggs, but eggshells inscribed with Hebrew letters have luckily been found together with magical bowls. As for writing on bones, we have

⁷² Rebigier/Schäfer 2009, 20*: paragraph 58 (G22; my translation).

⁷³ Ibid., paragraph 58 (TA42; my translation).

already discussed evidence of magically inscribed human skulls and know that animal bones are mentioned specifically in instruction texts.

Furthermore, we need to take into account the loss of writing materials due to typical magical techniques like dissolving magical writing in a liquid so it could be drunk afterwards.

Abbreviations

AS	Additional Series, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library
BL	British Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
Misc.	Miscellaneous, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library
NS	New Series, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library
PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae
TS	Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Library

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Gottfried Reeg

Codex hebraicus 18 and Codex hebraicus 53 in the Hamburg State and University Library – ‘Corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles’

Abstract: In the 16th century, the Catholic Church’s censorship of Hebrew manuscripts in Italy was largely carried out by converts to the Christian faith. One of the few Jews permitted to censor such manuscripts was Yiṣḥaq of Arles, whose note מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי (‘Corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles’) can be found in around thirty manuscripts and books. Isaiah Sonne (1942) identified him as the brother of Giacomo Geraldini, a convert whom the Pope commissioned with the task of censoring Hebrew works in the middle of the 16th century. Since the signature of Laurentius Franguellus appears at the end of one of the manuscripts that Yiṣḥaq of Arles ‘corrected’ and that Sonne was able to examine personally, the latter concluded that the censoring Yiṣḥaq had performed had subsequently to be confirmed by a Christian before being accepted. Franguellus’s signature is also found in the Hamburg manuscript known as Codex hebraicus 18. A material analysis of the two kinds of ink both men used in this codex points to the inks coming from the same region as both contain nickel (Ni).

A list of all the censors’ signatures that appear in the manuscripts Yiṣḥaq censored reveals that only four of the thirty works were actually signed by Laurentius Franguellus. The other censors went about their work at a time when Yiṣḥaq of Arles presumably was no longer alive, namely from 1593 onwards. Hence we may assume that the manuscripts had to be scrutinised by censors a number of times, which we already know was the case in Italy. Nonetheless, there is no justification for seeing any connection here between the times when Laurentius Franguellus and Yiṣḥaq of Arles both worked as censors.

It seems that Yiṣḥaq’s work was fully accepted by the Church while he was a censor and that he went about his task at a time when Jews were permitted to

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censor Hebrew manuscripts themselves; there is no reason to believe otherwise. Consequently, it is quite plausible that Yiṣḥaq was actively involved in censoring Hebrew works in the middle of the 16th century, a time when the Pope himself commissioned his brother with the task of censorship.

1 A brief overview of the current state of research

For reasons of brevity, we will only cover a few salient works here that deal with the history of Hebrew book censorship. The subject will similarly be limited to important milestones, serving only to provide a general outline.

The first comprehensive study of the subject, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* by William Popper, was published in New York at the end of the 19th century¹ and remains of fundamental importance to this day. Up to its publication, only shorter articles had ever appeared on the topic, such as ‘Die Censur hebräischer Bücher in Italien und der *Canon purificationis* (ספר הזיקוק)’ by Marco Mortara and ‘Die Censur hebräischer Bücher in Italien’ by Moritz Steinschneider, both published in the *Hebraeische Bibliographie*.² Gustave Sacerdote undertook an examination of the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* just a few years later – ‘Deux index expurgatoires de livres hébreux’.³ While the manuscript catalogues of this period certainly pointed out the existence of censors, the issue was not subject to any rigorous, systematic treatment.⁴

At the beginning of the 20th century, another work on the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* appeared, which was authored by Nathan Porges: ‘Der hebräische Index expurgatorius (ספר הזיקוק)’.⁵ In 1942, Isaiah Sonne’s ‘Expurgation of Hebrew Books – The Work of Jewish Scholars’⁶ was published, a work of key importance to this paper. The author described the personage of Yiṣḥaq of Arles in some detail here, who lived in Ferrara around 1573, and identified him as the brother of Rabbi Yosef of Arles, making him contemporaneous to Laurentius Franguellus’ activities there

1 Popper 1889.

2 Mortara 1862; Steinschneider 1862.

3 Sacerdote 1896.

4 This happened in Steinschneider 1878: for example p. 18 in his description of Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, Steinschneider pointed out the remark made by Yiṣḥaq of Arles, but p. 60f. in his outline of Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, he only mentioned Laurentius Franguellus’ signature.

5 Porges 1903.

6 Sonne 1942.

as a censor.⁷ In one of the two censored copies available to him, a signature by Yiṣḥaq of Arles was accompanied by another from Laurentius Franguellus dated 1575. Given that the former used the term מתוקן ('corrected'), while the latter wrote the word *revisus* ('reviewed'), Sonne assumed that Laurentius Franguellus had validated the corrections made by Yiṣḥaq in the capacity of an official representative church: 'I suppose, because of the use of the term "Metuqan", that the copy was "corrected" by our d'Arles and then revised by Franguelus [sic]'.⁸

In the latter half of the 20th century, a number of monographs dealing with the subject of Hebrew printing and censorship appeared, particularly in Jerusalem, such as *Hebrew Printing at Cremona: Its History and Bibliography* and *Copyright, Authorization, and the Imprimatur for Hebrew Books Printed in Venice*, both written by Me'ir Benayahu.⁹

The focus has shifted in studies produced since the end of the last century. One focal point has been the study of the censorship of Hebrew books within the greater contextual confines of Catholic Church censorship in general, which saw its predominant position threatened by humanists such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, scientists like the later Galileo Galilei, the Reformation and the rise of printing. A few studies worthy of mention here are 'The Burning of the Talmud 1553, in Light of Sixteenth-Century Catholic Attitudes toward the Talmud' by Kenneth R. Stow,¹⁰ 'The Index, the Holy Office, the Condemnation of the Talmud, and Publication of "Clement VIII's Index"' by Fausto Parente,¹¹ and 'Cardinal Santoro and the Expurgation of Hebrew Literature' by Piet van Boxel.¹² A second focus can be found in the effects of censorship on the development of traditional rabbinical Judaism, such as in Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin's article 'Censorship, Editing, and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity: The Catholic Church and Hebrew Literature in the Sixteenth Century'¹³ and his comprehensive monograph *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*¹⁴. Piet van Boxel recently published a response to his uncritical stance regarding the censorship promulgated by the Catholic Church.¹⁵

⁷ Sonne 1942, 985–987.

⁸ Sonne 1942, 986.

⁹ Benayahu 1971a; Benayahu 1971b.

¹⁰ Stow 1991.

¹¹ Parente 2001.

¹² Boxel 2001.

¹³ Raz-Krakotzkin 2004.

¹⁴ Raz-Krakotzkin 2007.

¹⁵ Boxel 2016, 75–99.

In recent years, we have seen the publication of *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*¹⁶, a collection of essays with contributions from Joseph R. Hacker ('Sixteenth-century Jewish Internal Censorship of Hebrew Books'¹⁷) and Nurit Pasternak ('Marchion in Hebrew Manuscripts: State Censorship in Florence, 1472'¹⁸), among others, the latter being on the censorship of Hebrew books in the second half of the 15th century.

Research on this topic has been greatly facilitated in recent decades thanks to a number of factors:

1. Internet access to the National Library of Israel's (NLI) catalogue, which also provides access to the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM) catalogue containing detailed information on the manuscripts. This has greatly increased the body of data available to researchers and, of course, includes the treasures of the microfilm collection.
2. The 'SfarData' database maintained by Malachi Beit-Arié provides important information on Hebrew codices and their scribes.
3. High-resolution digitised versions of manuscripts, which more and more libraries are providing access to, offer much greater fidelity in comparison to black and white microfilms. This greatly facilitates their deciphering and analysis.
4. Multi-spectral photography, which can make previously 'invisible' passages visible and thereby allow the recovery of 'lost' texts.
5. New methods in researching ink types, in particular iron-gall inks, make it easier to ascribe corrections and additions to specific authors.

The aim of the current study is a critical analysis of Sonne's theory of the relationship between Yişhaq of Arles and Laurentius Franguellus, based on the greater body of data bearing Yişhaq of Arles' signature, the two Hamburg codices and the analysis of the inks used.

2 History of censorship

The history of censorship is neither straightforward nor consistent, but rather characterised by a wide variety of different factors and circumstances. It reflects the interests of the (Catholic) Church, of the secular authorities, of popes and the papal curia, of humanists and theologians, and, of course, of Jewish groups. Censorship

¹⁶ Hacker/Shear 2011.

¹⁷ Hacker 2011.

¹⁸ Pasternak 2011.

applied not only to existing codices and books, but also to the publication and printing of Hebrew books, particularly from the 16th century onwards. In principle, we need to differentiate between the censorship of individual manuscript copies and the censorship of printed works. In the latter case, the methods employed were more systematic, since each printed copy is affected. In the censorship of existing codices or books, it is always limited to the individual copy. Its effects are more limited, particularly given that not every copy is censored in exactly the same manner.¹⁹

Popper begins his account in the 13th century, when Solomon ben Avraham of Montpellier turned to the Dominicans for support in the struggle against the Jewish ‘heresy’ manifested in the philosophy of Maimonides. This led to the first public burning of Hebrew books in 1233, particularly of the works of Maimonides.²⁰ In the following period, ‘censorship’ generally meant the confiscation and burning of manuscripts. Roughly nine years later, for example – the exact date is disputed²¹ – 24 cartloads of Hebrew manuscripts, many of which were Talmud codices, were burnt in Paris on the grounds that the works contained ‘blasphemy, fallacy or heresy’ (*blasphemia, errores aut haereses*). This radical approach was tempered following the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263, whereby Pope Clemens IV instructed King James I of Aragon to pass a decree on 19 August 1263, forcing Jews to pass their books to Dominican and Franciscan monks such that they might be reviewed and expurgated before being returned.²² To what extent such ecclesiastical decrees were implemented by the secular authorities, whether in the one or the other extreme, lay at the latter’s discretion. The following period up to the 16th century was marked by the struggle over whether the Talmud and other related works were to be viewed as anti-Christian or heretical. In principle, the possession of a Talmud was forbidden in the eyes of the Church on the grounds of its ‘blasphemy, fallacy or heresy’, and rebuttals to these accusations from Jewish scholars, Christian theologians and humanists remained to a large extent unsuccessful. Worthy of mention among those who strove to allow Jews the use of their own religious books was Rabbi Yosef of Arles,²³ whose role will be expanded upon below.

¹⁹ Cf. Sonne 1942, 976.

²⁰ Popper 1899, 7.

²¹ Popper 1899, 7, states the year 1244; Cohen 1999, 318; 1242; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 26f.: 1242. In addition, see Galinsky 2012, 109–140, and Friedman/Hoff/Chazan 2012.

²² Popper 1899, 13.

²³ Sonne 1954, 134; Boksenboim 1985, 11; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 86f.

These oscillations finally came to a close (of kinds) in 1559 under Pope Paul IV.²⁴ At the beginning of the 16th century, the issues surrounding the Talmud were superseded by discussions and debates on the necessity of censorship brought about by what was perceived by the Roman Catholic Church as the subversive ideas of the Reformation, as well as by the invention of the printing press. On the one hand, the Catholic Church saw its position attacked by the reformers, while on the other, the development of printing enabled writings and ideas to be quickly and effectively disseminated, with hundreds of copies capable of being made simultaneously in comparison to a single manuscript. After much groundwork, the first version of the Index of Forbidden Works (*Index librorum prohibitorum*) was issued and published under Pope Paul IV in 1559. This long list included works which were deemed as heretical and incompatible with the Catholic Church's teachings. It was forbidden to print, read, own or disseminate any of these writings. The Talmud and other Hebrew works, such as Recanati's commentary on the Pentateuch, were definitively included in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, which came to be referred to simply as 'the Index'.²⁵

Under Pius IV, this decision was somewhat attenuated, as he allowed the Talmud and other critical works to be printed and owned under certain circumstances. However, the text of these works had to be expurgated first, with all passages and terms deemed by the Church to be anti-Christian or heretical being either replaced by others – for example גוי (*goy* = 'gentile') by עובדי עבודה זרה ('idolaters') – or being deleted altogether. The Talmud itself was not allowed to be printed with the title 'Talmud' on it. In addition, at the Jews' own suggestion, a Jewish committee consisting of three rabbis had to provide consent to the printing of every Hebrew book.²⁶ Ultimately, as with every other work, an *imprimatur* was required from the Church. The title 'Talmud', however, remained on the Index.

2.1 *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*

The Church authorities were faced with two core problems when it came to the censorship of Hebrew works. Firstly, they had to deal with the issue of finding someone capable of censoring the books. Secondly, they had to determine which books needed to be censored and which could be viewed as unobjectionable.

²⁴ Popper 1899, 45f.; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 57–69.

²⁵ Popper 1889, 45; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 33–36.

²⁶ On the resolution made in Ferrara in 1554, see Popper 1899, 38; Sonne 1942, 976; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 117.

As early as 1555, Pope Julius III commissioned Avraham ben David Provençal²⁷ with the task of drawing up a relevant list. In light of the great number of Hebrew works that existed at the time, it is not surprising that this endeavour was never completed, but it served as the basis for the later compilation put together by Hippolitus Ferrarensis.²⁸ At approximately the same time, an index was compiled and repeatedly revised by Laurentius Franguellus, with the final version from 1596 comprising 36 titles.²⁹ The most detailed compilation, the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*, was assembled by Domenico Gerosolimitano (also known as Dominico I[er]osolimitano), a convert who had himself baptised in 1593.³⁰ A number of different versions of this manuscript exist.³¹ From the end of the 16th century, this document proved to be definitive for a long period of time. Nevertheless, neither the manuscript nor any other compilation was granted official status by the Church, leaving them as non-binding documents and making it unclear exactly which documents fell under the rules of censorship. Presumably this question was left unanswered intentionally, since official regulation would have meant that any work not on the list was, by implication, to be considered unobjectionable.³²

The lists follow two different approaches; on the one hand, searching for specific words and terminology which might indicate any anti-Christian or heretical content, such as גוי ('goy'), אדום ('Edom'), רומי ('Rome') etc.³³, or alternatively paying more attention to the contents themselves, for example whether the interpretation of the Bible or the presentation of the issue of transmigration corresponded to the Catholic viewpoint or not. This latter approach was preferred by neophytes in particular.³⁴

Nathan Porges conducted a more detailed study of the extent to which the various indices were applied, coming to the conclusion that although there were guidelines, these were in no way followed stringently, not even by the author of the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* himself, Domenico Gerosolimitano. One and the same censor

²⁷ Popper 1899, 39f.; Sonne 1942, 979–981; Porges 1903, 277f.; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 84f. However, Sonne does not rule out the idea of the figure in question being Avraham's father, David Provençal, Sonne 1942, 981.

²⁸ Sonne 1942, 980f. states the year 1584; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 84f. the year 1594; and Sacerdote 1896, 260 the year 1596.

²⁹ Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 85, mentions 33 titles.

³⁰ On Domenico Gerosolimitano, see Habermann 1966/1967; Prebor 2010–11, 467–481.

³¹ Regarding ספר הדיקוק, see Sacerdote 1896, 257–283; Popper 1899, 77–84; Porges 1903, 273–295; Prebor 2008; Boxel 2016, 75–99. Unfortunately, I was unable to access Gila Prebor's 2003 work.

³² On this point, see Porges 1903, 273–277; Boxel 2016, 75–99.

³³ Popper 1899, 28f., 58f.; Porges, 1903, 286ff.; Prebor 2008, 16f.

³⁴ Cf. Sacerdote 1896, 275.

can, of course, apply a very lax or very strict form of censorship,³⁵ and one reason for volumes being censored multiple times may be discernible from the accusation found in the records of the Vatican that the censorship had been too lax.³⁶

2.2 The censors

Porges raised the question as to what extent, if any, one can consider ‘censorship’ being applied in the case of Jewish books in comparison to Christian works, given that this term was seldom used in the context of Jewish works. For this reason, he prefers to use a term such as ‘revisor’ or ‘corrector’ himself.³⁷ Nevertheless, despite this justifiable consideration, I shall use the more common term ‘censor’ in this paper. In relation to *Yiṣḥaq* of Arles, it is usually described as a form of ‘internal censorship’.

Christian theologians were rarely fluent in Hebrew and thus incapable of reading, let alone understanding and censoring such texts, which made them unsuitable for the task of revision. The option of granting Jews themselves the right to examine and, where necessary, censor the works³⁸ was discussed over a long period of time, but ultimately found no approval, the arguments outweighed by the general mistrust of Jews.³⁹

Apart from the previously cited Avraham and David Provençal, Sonne also mentions Natani’el ha-Dani and *Yiṣḥaq* of Arles as Jewish ‘censors’.⁴⁰ This does not take into consideration those who played a role later with the development of printing.

The only people who thus could be considered for the task of censoring these works were former Jews who had converted to Christianity. Giacomo Geraldini, a baptised Jew, was made apostolic commissioner by the Pope in 1555 on the suggestion of the Jews.⁴¹ In 1556, he was further appointed ducal commissioner by the Duke of Modena⁴² and was active in Rome, Bologna, Mantua and Ferrara. In the following period, it was mainly neophytes who were entrusted with this

³⁵ Porges 1903, 280–283; Prebor 2008, 21f.; Prebor 2010–11, 477.

³⁶ See Margulies 1903, 269; Porges 1903, 273–277.

³⁷ Porges 1903, 274–277.

³⁸ Berliner 1891, 9f.; Popper 1899, 72–76; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 85.

³⁹ Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 42–44, 81–84.

⁴⁰ Sonne 1942, 980–987.

⁴¹ Popper 1899, Popper, 40f., 72; Porges 1903, 273–278; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007. See below for more details about him.

⁴² Popper 1899, plate IV: Jac. Geraldini commiss[ari] Ap[ostol]ici et Ducalis, die 18 Martij 1556.

task – members of the institute later known as the Collegio dei Neofiti (*Collegium Ecclesiasticum Adolescentium Neophytorum*) set up to educate converts from Judaism and Islam. In addition to Laurentius Franguellus, who rose to prominence between the 1570s and 1590s,⁴³ two others are worthy of note: Domenico Gerosolimitano, who converted in 1593⁴⁴ and was active at the end of the 16th century, and Camillo Jaghel, who was active at the beginning of the 17th century.

The converts' Jewish names are largely unknown to us, leaving their origins in the dark. Nevertheless, as in the cases of Domenico Gerosolimitano and Giacomo Geraldini, it is occasionally possible to identify their backgrounds. Some of them remained well disposed towards the Jews despite their conversion to Christianity, whereas others attempted to prove their devoutness as 'true' Christians after baptism and were extremely stringent in their censorship, some going as far as to call for the burning of the Talmud.

2.2.1 Giacomo Geraldini and Yiṣḥaq of Arles

The origins of Giacomo Geraldini, who Pope Julius III tasked with censoring Jewish works, remained unknown for a long time and were first brought to light by Yacov Boksenboim in 1985. He discovered a clue among the letters of Italy's Jewish Renaissance scholars revealing that his identity was that of Rabbi Yosef of Arles, mentioned previously, since he agitated against the prohibition of the Talmud in 1554.⁴⁵ Rabbi Yosef of Arles was a great, albeit controversial scholar who was suspended from his duties as rabbi for a time.⁴⁶ It is not known exactly when he was baptised; however, Boksenboim suggests 1553 as a plausible date.⁴⁷ Even after his conversion to Christianity, he appears to have retained the respect of Jews, or at least this is generally assumed.⁴⁸

Isaiah Sonne had previously managed to identify Yiṣḥaq as the brother of Rabbi Yosef of Arles.⁴⁹ An official document from the Jewish community in Ferrara dated 1573 contains a contract between the Ashkenazic and Italian communities

⁴³ Popper 1899, Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 85.

⁴⁴ Zorattini 1998; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 88; Prebor 2010–11, 469.

⁴⁵ Sonne 1954, 134; Boksenboim 1985, 10–15; Boksenboim 1987, 10, 29–34; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 86f.

⁴⁶ Marx 1937, 171–184. On R. Yosef of Arles, also see Sonne 1954, 133–138.

⁴⁷ Boksenboim 1985, 33.

⁴⁸ Boksenboim 1985, 10–14.

⁴⁹ Sonne 1942, 985–987.

with the signature of *Yiṣḥaq of Arles ... son of David 'Azari'el*,⁵⁰ illustrating this person to have commanded a certain standing in society. From another document stemming from the mid-16th century, we also know that Rabbi Yosef's father was called David.⁵¹ As a result, we can surmise that the two of them were brothers, and Sonne assumes that Yiṣḥaq was the younger of the two. No exact dates of birth or death exist for either man. A. Marx supposes that Rabbi Yosef of Arles lived from 1490–1560,⁵² and Sonne estimates him to have been around sixty years old in 1562.⁵³ All of which means that his brother Yiṣḥaq cannot have been particularly young by 1573.

One of the censored copies available to Sonne contained a revisor's note from Laurentius Franguellus dated 1575 in addition to the note from Yiṣḥaq of Arles.⁵⁴ Sonne, somewhat troubled by the terms מתוקן ('corrected') and *revisus*⁵⁵, assumed that Yiṣḥaq of Arles' corrections therefore had to be confirmed by a Christian authority, in this case Laurentius Franguellus, who was living in Ferrara at the same time.⁵⁶ In my opinion, however, given the familial connection between Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Giacomo Geraldini, it would be more logical to assume Yiṣḥaq played the role of corrector rather in the time of this brother than in the time of Laurentius Franguellus.

2.2.2 מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי

The phrase מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי ('corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles') has been clearly pointed out by Steinschneider and others. However, the location itself has proven difficult to decipher, resulting in other variations such as מארוץ or אריצי.⁵⁷ The remark was not considered to have been related to censorship, but rather the term 'corrected' was understood to refer to the elimination of an error. In this sense, it

50 Sonne 1942, 986: יצחק מארלי... בן דוד עזריאל.

51 Marx 1937, 171–184.

52 Marx 1937, 173.

53 Sonne 1954, 134.

54 *Revisus p[er] me Laurentiu[s] Franguellu[s]* 1575.

55 See below regarding the terminology used.

56 According to Sonne 1942, 985; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 92.

57 Steinschneider 1878, 18, on Codex hebraicus 53: 'Vorher von anderer Hand על ידי יצחק מארלי' (Previously [done] by another hand יצחק מארלי (?). 'מזוקק מארוץ', darunter in Minuskel מזוקק אריצי (?). 'מזוקק מארוץ', underneath that in minuscule אריצי (?). Wachstein 1914, 11, 28; Freimann 1950, 266 also considered the possibility of a relationship existing to the town of Forlì in Italy.

could easily be seen as an indication of who the document's owner was.⁵⁸ To the best of my knowledge, Wachstein was the first to suggest a connection to censorship.⁵⁹

Apart from no. 6,⁶⁰ Yiṣḥaq of Arles' notes generally appear at the beginning of each work, generally on fol. 1r or 2r, while the Christian censors' signatures are generally found at the end of the book (with few exceptions).⁶¹

The terminology used for the purposes of censorship in Latin/Italian signatures is far from consistent, even if each individual person tended to use the same wording. Some signed the manuscripts with just their name and the year, particularly the later censors such as Camillo Jaghel. As seen in the facsimile in Popper,⁶² others used the following terminology: *revisus* or *revisto*, ('reviewed, checked'), *vidit ... et approbavit* ('reviewed ... and approved'), *visto* & (?) *correto* ('viewed ... corrected'), *expurgavi* ('expurgated'), *subsignavi* ('sealed') or *p[er]mittitur* ('permitted').

These are supplemented by a large number of Hebrew terms:⁶³ מעיין ($\triangleq$ *vidit*), לתקן ($\triangleq$ *correx*, *corretto*),⁶⁴ לזקק ($\triangleq$ *expurgavi*), לחקור ('examined')⁶⁵ or להגות ($\triangleq$ 'proof-read'). When printing books, it seems the terms להגות and מזוקק or מוזקק (meaning 'proof-read carefully') were largely used, while the other forms were mainly employed for codices or for already printed works at a later date. The most commonly used term was לזקק,⁶⁶ equivalent to the title ספר הזיקוק (meaning *index/liber expurgatorius*). The texts were essentially 'expurgated' of all 'negative' (i.e. anti-Christian and heretical) content.

The word 'corrected' is found almost exclusively in connection with the name of Yiṣḥaq of Arles.⁶⁷ Only two other examples can be found for כלו מתוקן כהוגן ('everything corrected to how it should be'),⁶⁸ those being in Columbia University Library New York, NY USA Ms. X 893 M 112 Q from 1615 on fol. 1r⁶⁹ and in the

58 Cf. Hirschfeld 1904, 31; Neubauer 1886, 703; and others.

59 Wachstein 1914, 175.

60 See the list of corrected works below.

61 On this point, see Popper 1899, 78f.

62 Popper 1889, plates IV–V.

63 Sonne 1942, 977–979; Benayahu 1971b, 190–192; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 112–113.

64 According to Sonne, this was used at the end of the 16th century; Sonne 1942, 895.

65 See no. 9 in the list (see below).

66 Sonne 1942, 977f., 'familiar expression in official circles dealing with the censorship'.

67 The catalogue of the National Library of Israel was the source I used for my search.

68 Cf. מזוקק הכל כהוגן in a copy belonging to Bahya ben Asher *Qad ha-Qemah*, Venice, 1545, now kept at the Hebrew Union College Library; Sonne 1942, 978, n. 10.

69 Below the remark, there is a number that has been written by another person: '625' http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presenterid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000136025-2, viewed on 5 March 2017.

National Library of France, Paris, Ms. hebr. 866, fol. 28r in the upper left.⁷⁰ Both are autographs written by Menahem 'Azariah da Fano with numerous corrections. The notes are not in the same handwriting, however.

In at least two of the codices bearing Yiṣḥaq of Arles' note, a later statement – מזוקק ('expurgated') – can be seen, in the Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53 written in minuscules next to the word מארלי, and in Parma Biblioteca Palatina 2386⁷¹, in the margins in strong letters. This is an indication that the term 'corrected' was not (or no longer) unequivocally understood to be an act of censorship, and thus had to be explained explicitly.

2.3 A list of books and codices with notes by Yiṣḥaq of Arles

So far, a total of thirty manuscripts have been found bearing Yiṣḥaq's signature in library catalogues, secondary literature and the National Library of Israel's manuscript catalogue. With the exception of no. 6 and four printed works (nos 27–30), all of them are recorded in the NLI's catalogue.⁷² They are listed here in alphabetical order of the library locations, the printed works coming at the end.

Cambridge, University Library Add. 649 (IMHM: F 74208)

Perush (commentary) by Recanati on the Tora (3r–282v) and Prayers (283r–307r); 15th century; catalogue: Reif 1997, no. SCR 88.

Further censors: fol. 307r: Hippolitus Ferrarensis, 1601; Giovanni Dominico Vistorini, 1609 (1610); Camillo Jaghel, 1611.

Cambridge, University Library Add. 450 (IMHM: F 16331)

Ṭur Even ha-‘Ezer; 14th/15th century; catalogue: Reif 1997, no. SCR 246.

No further censors listed.

⁷⁰ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107226937>, viewed on 19 Feb. 2017. Other censors were Clemente Renatto (fols 1r, 173v, 191r) and Domenico Carretto 1628 (173^v).

⁷¹ Parma Biblioteca Palatina 2386, fol. 1r, http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presenterid=MANUSCRIPTS&doid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000072663-1, viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

⁷² <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/Pages/default.aspx> (viewed on 19 Feb. 2017); I searched for 'Old Catalogue' using the following options: 'Select Library': 'Manuscripts' and 'Select Search Option': 'Keyword anywhere' and 'Search for': מתוקן.

Cambridge, Trinity College R 14 61 (IMHM: F 12598)

Hebrew translation of Euclid: *Sefer ha-Yesodot*, 14th century; catalogue: Palmer 1870, 226f.

No further censors. The end is missing.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. II.1 (IMHM: F 17656)

Tanakh with commentaries; 1396; location mentioned: Ferrara.

Further censors: fol. 945v: Renato da Modena, 1626; Alessandro Scipione, 1596 (?) fol. 946r: Domenico Gerosolimitano, 1598; Camillo Jaghel, 1613.⁷³

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. III.6 (IMHM: F 17818)

R. Levi ben Gershom: *Perush* on the *Miqra* (*Tanakh*), 14th century, in the colophon: 1330–1338.

No censor found at the end of it.⁷⁴

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Cod. hebr. 18 (IMHM: F 881)

Mishna and *Birkhot Maharam*, 1416; Spello (?); catalogue: Steinschneider 1878, 18.

Further censor: Laurentius Franguellus, 1574.

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Cod. hebr. 53 (IMHM: F 903)

Perush by Recanati on the Tora and Prayers, 1410; Perugia (sold); catalogue: Steinschneider 1878, 60f.

Further censor, name unknown; name was presumably found on the folios cut out at the end of the manuscript.

London, British Library Add. 26902 (IMHM: F 5441)

Perush Tehillim by Yosef ben Avraham Ḥayyun; 15th/16th century; catalogue: Margoliouth 1899, 169, no. 230.

No further censor.

Mantua, Biblioteca Teresiana 7 (IMHM: F 787)

Milḥemet ha-Shem; 14th/15th century; catalogue: Mortara 1878.

The end of the manuscript is missing; the final page ends with a catchword.⁷⁵

⁷³ <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001391575&keywork=s=plut.02.01#page/1/mode/1up>, viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

⁷⁴ <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000018968#page/1/mode/1up>, viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

⁷⁵ http://digilib.bibliotecateresiana.it/sfoglia_ebraici.php?op=eбра&gruppo=CME_001_030&volume=CME007&offset=0, viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana O 13 sup. (IMHM: F 12913)

Rambam Perush Mishna (Neziqin Avot); 15th century; catalogue: Bernheimer 1933, no. 44; probably Milan.⁷⁶

Further censor: fol. 86v: Domenico Gerosolimitano (Hebrew, probably after 1605).⁷⁷

Previously Montefiore 121 (IMHM: F 7303)

Sefer Mišvot ha-Gadol; 14th century; catalogue: Hirschfeld 1904, 31.

No further censor listed.

Previously Montefiore 123 (IMHM: F 4635)

Sefer Mišvot Qaṭan ('*SeMaQ*'); 15th century; catalogue: Hirschfeld 1904, 31.⁷⁸

Further censors: fol. 211v: Giovanni Dominico Vistorini, 1609; Laurentius Franguelus (no date).

Moscow, Ms. Günzburg 41 (IMHM: F 6722)

Qad ha-Qemaḥ by Baḥya ben Asher; 1532; Florence, Italy.

No further censor mentioned.

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary Ms. 2266 (IMHM: F 28519)

Miscellaneous, *Sefer 'Iqarim*; 1498; Camerino, Tunis.

Further censors: Hippolitus Ferrarensis, 1601 *purgavit* ('purged'); Giovanni Dominico Vistorini, 1610; deletions made by censors.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Opp. Add. fol. 40; Neubauer 879 (IMHM: F 21838)

Sefer Mišvot Qaṭan ('*SeMaQ*'); 15th century (1518?); Modena, Italy; catalogue: Neubauer 1886, 185, no. 879; Beit-Arié / May 1994, 138, no. 879*.

Further censor: fol. 286v: Hippolitus Ferrarensis, 1601.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Mich. Add. 59; Neubauer 911 (IMHM: F 21870)

Miscellaneous; 1538/1539 (1536–38); catalogue: Neubauer 1886, 196–198, no. 912; Beit-Arié/May 1994, 144, no. 911.

Further censor at the end of Oxford Bodleian Library Ms. Mich. Add. 60: Luigi da Bologna, 1600; the two manuscripts belong together.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Mich. 350; Neubauer 2052 (IMHM: F 19337)

Miscellaneous; 15th century (1446); Burgos, Mantua; catalogue: Neubauer 1886, 703; Beit-Arié / May 1994, 376f., 2052*.

⁷⁶ Sonne 1942, 982.

⁷⁷ On Domenico Gerosolimitano's Hebrew signature, see Prebor 2010–11, 476–479.

⁷⁸ Presumably, Yiṣḥaq of Arles was the owner.

Further censors: fol. 90v: Giovanni Domenico Carretto, 1618, fol. 91v: Domenico Gerosolimitano, 1597, fol. 203v: Luigi da Bologna, 1600.⁷⁹

Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Opp. Add. fol. 42; Neubauer 1512 (IMHM: F 16431)
‘Arukh by Natan ben Yehi’el; 13th/14th century; catalogue: Neubauer 1886, 533; Beit-Arié / May 1994, 252, no. 1512.

Further censor: fol. 451v: Camillo Jaghel, 1600.⁸⁰

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 422 (IMHM: F 4445)

Ṭur Even ha-‘Ezer, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, Yore De‘a; 1487, 1496; Soncino, Italy.

Further censors: Laurentius Franguellus, 1575; Hippolitus Ferrarensis, 1601, deletions made by censors.⁸¹

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1457 (olim Vélins 908) (IMHM: F 73304)

Siddur Minhag Roma; 16th/17th century; catalogue: I. Adler 1961/62, 194–199 (no. 1457).

Further censors mentioned at the end of the manuscript: Renato da Modena, 1626; Luigi da Bologna, 1599; Camillo Jaghel, 1613,⁸² Girolamo da Durallano, 1640.⁸³

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 2 (IMHM: F 27533; F 14072)

Tora; 15th century; Ferrara (sold in 1494); catalogue: Richler 2001, 41f. No. 176.

Further censors: fol. 450v: Domenico Gerosolimitano 1578;⁸⁴ Alessandro Scipione 1597; Camillo Jaghel 1613.

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 1779 (IMHM: F 13005)

Siddur; 15th century; catalogue: Richler 2001, 235 No. 964.

Further censors: Camillo Jaghel 1603 and an unidentifiable signature.

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 2160/2161 (IMHM: F 14247; F 14248)

Tanakh; 14th century; catalogue: Richler 2001, 44, no. 186.

No further censor.

⁷⁹ These details are from the IMHM catalogue.

⁸⁰ These details are from the IMHM catalogue.

⁸¹ These details are from the IMHM catalogue.

⁸² Adler 1961/62, 194–199.

⁸³ Adler 1961/62, 194–199.

⁸⁴ According to the dates mentioned in Prebor 2010–11, 469f., Domenico Gerosolimitano only converted to Christianity in 1593 and he spent 1578–79 in Istanbul, which means that the date of his signature is probably incorrect; perhaps it was simply misread.

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 3518 (IMHM: F 14025)

Siddur; 1306; Nursia; catalogue: Richler 2001, p. 271f., no. 1065.

No further censor.

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 2386 (IMHM: F 13251)

Philosophy; 1525–1528; catalogue: Richler 2001, 479, no. 1577.

Further censors: fol. 185v: Renato da Mod[en]a, 1626, Luigi [da Bologna], 1600, Gir[olamo] da Durallano, 1640.⁸⁵

Turin A II 7 (IMHM: F 34401)

Ṭur Even ha-‘Ezer, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*; 1306 or 1311; Bologna; catalogue: Peyron 1880, 31f.

Further censorship from 1601.⁸⁶

Vienna, Jewish Community Library, Salo Cohn Donation, Wachstein Catalogue No. 25

Sefer Halakhot (Rif) by R. Yiṣḥaq Alfasi (R. Isaac Fasi); 1554–1555; printed in Sabbioneta; catalogue: Wachstein 1914, 11.

Further censors: Domenico Gerosolimitano, Alessandro Scipione, 1593, Vincentius Matellica, Girolamo da Durallano, 1640.

Vienna, Jewish Community Library, Salo Cohn Donation, Wachstein Catalogue No. 67

Bible; 1517; printed in Venice; catalogue: Wachstein 1914, 25.

Censors: no further censors are listed.

Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Moshe Coucy Sefer Miṣvot Gadol Venice 1522

Moshe Coucy, *Sefer Miṣvot Gadol*; 1522; printed in Venice; Ferrara; source: Sonne 1942, 985.

No further censor is known.

Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Isserlein Terumat ha-Deshen, Venice 1519

Isserlein *Terumat ha-Deshen*; 1519; printed in Venice; source: Sonne 1942, 985.

Further censor: Laurentius Franguellus, 1575.

⁸⁵ http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presentorid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000072663-1, viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

⁸⁶ There is no indication of this in Peyron; no name is mentioned in the IMHM catalogue.

2.3.1 Censors

In ten of the copies cited here, no further censor is mentioned (nos 2, 5, 8, 11, 13, 23f., 28f.) and for two others (nos 3 and 10) the end containing any possible signatures has not been preserved. Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53 (no. 7) was censored a second time, but the name of the censor is unknown.⁸⁷

As for the other Christian censors, we can make the following chronological picture:

1574–1575	6, 12, 19, 30	Laurentius Franguellus ⁸⁸
1593–1597	4, 21, 27	Alessandro Scipione
1597–1598	4, 9, 17, 21, 27	Domenico Gerosolimitano ⁸⁹
1599–1600	16, 17, 20, 25	Luigi da Bologna
1601	1, 14, 15, 19	Hippolitus Ferrarensis
1601	16	unknown
1600–1613	1, 4, 18, 20, 21, 22	Camillo Jaghel
1609–1618	1, 12, 14	Giovanni Dominico Vistorini
1618	17	Giovanno Domenico Carretto
1626	4, 20, 25	Renato da Modena
1640	20, 25, 27	Girolamo da Durallano
n.d.	27	Vincentius Matellica

This greatly increased pool of data with 30 manuscripts does not confirm Isaiah Sonne's theory, recently adopted by Raz-Krakovitzkin,⁹⁰ that the use of the terms מתוקן and *revisus* in the notes from Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Laurentius Franguellus suggests the corrections by a Jewish 'censor' needed to be further authorised by a representative of the Church. The name 'Laurentius Franguellus' – a censor who must have resided in Ferrara at the same time as Yiṣḥaq of Arles – appears in just four codices. This fits in with the hypothetical chronology. If we assume that Yiṣḥaq of Arles' brother, if not already dead, was around 60 years old in 1562, then Yiṣḥaq must have been approximately 70 years old in 1573. No other censors are likely as contemporaries of Yiṣḥaq – the time lag between them

⁸⁷ See below on this point.

⁸⁸ In one case, no year was mentioned.

⁸⁹ The date given in no. 21 is ignored.

⁹⁰ Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 86f.

is simply too great, meaning that none of those mentioned come into question to officially approve his corrections. Another point which debases this argument is the fact that there is no evidence of a further censor in at least ten of the manuscripts.

Since we know that works were censored several times,⁹¹ we have to assume that this would have applied equally to the copies corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles. It is therefore reasonable to assume that, during his lifetime, his signature was both sufficient and accepted. It also follows that his activities need not have taken place contemporaneously with those of Laurentius Franguellus, but quite possibly may have occurred earlier.

2.3.2 Places mentioned in the manuscripts

The places named in the documents must be treated with caution: books are moveable items that can be sold and transported to different locations quite easily. There is similarly no reason for families and individual book owners to reside in the same place permanently.⁹² Two of the few places mentioned here – Burgos (no. 17) and Tunis (no. 14) – are completely irrelevant. The others are spread across two main areas: Umbria, including Perugia (no. 7), Camerino (no. 14), Spello (?) (no. 6) and Nursia (no. 24); and Ferrara and surroundings, including Ferrara (nos 4, 21, 29), Mantua (no. 17), Modena (no. 15), Bologna (no. 28,) Florence (no. 13) and Soncino (Lombardy) (no. 19). One was censored in Milan by Domenico Gerosolimitano.⁹³

2.3.3 The times of Yiṣḥaq of Arles

The fact that Yiṣḥaq is named as a witness in a document from 1573 only proves that he was alive at this point in time, without saying anything about whether he was active as a ‘corrector’ on or before this date. Marx surmises that his brother lived between 1490–1560, meaning that Yiṣḥaq cannot have been particularly young by 1573. The argument that he must have been active at the same time as Laurentius Franguellus no longer applies, in as far as an earlier time period is also conceivable.

⁹¹ Berliner 1891, 9f.; Porges 1903, 274–276.

⁹² Cf., for example, Hamburg Cod. hebr. 19; Reeg 2014b, 81f.

⁹³ Sonne 1942, 982; Prebor 2010–11, 476–479.

The dates in some of the codices and books only provide a modicum of help, since they merely provide information on the age of the codices, not when Yiṣḥaq of Arles had them in his hands. Only the dates provided in printed works offer a point of reference, such as the last given year, 1554/55, in the printed works from Sabbioneta (no. 28). We can at least assume that he was active as a ‘corrector’ at or after this point in time, but saying how long he was active before or thereafter is mere speculation. This work was printed during the time when his brother Giacomo Geraldini had been commissioned by the Pope with the task of censoring Hebrew codices and books.

As previously mentioned, there was a lengthy discussion as to whether the task of censorship could be delegated to Jews. It therefore seems likely that Yiṣḥaq of Arles was active earlier than 1573, i.e. during the period before it was decided that Jews should not be called upon as censors, but that censorship should only be entrusted to converts.

3 Hamburg State and University Library, Codex hebraicus 18

The codex was written by Yeḳuti’el ben Yeḥi’el in 1416 for Moshe ben Yehuda ha-Rofe of Spello.⁹⁴ On fol. 1r, Asher Ḥanan Eli(hu) is named as a further owner from whom the codex was purchased,⁹⁵ but he cannot be identified. The codex therefore had at least three owners. In addition to the first three *sedarim* of the *Mishna* and a commentary by Maimonides, it also contains the *Hilkhot Berakhot* by Me’ir of Rothenburg, which is at the end of it (from fol. 232v onwards).

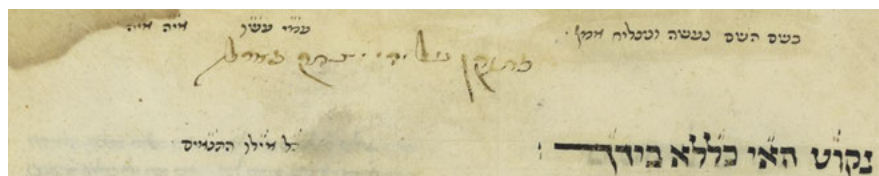


Fig. 1: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18 fol. 2r. © All images State and University Library Hamburg.

⁹⁴ Fol. 231v; cf. SfarData 0G156 <http://www.sfardata.nli.org.il/sfardatanew/Home.aspx>, viewed on 10 March 2017. On the scribe and his family, see Reeg 2014a, 74f.

⁹⁵ קניתי זה הספר מאשר חנן ? לעבדו בעד ז' אייוקוי??

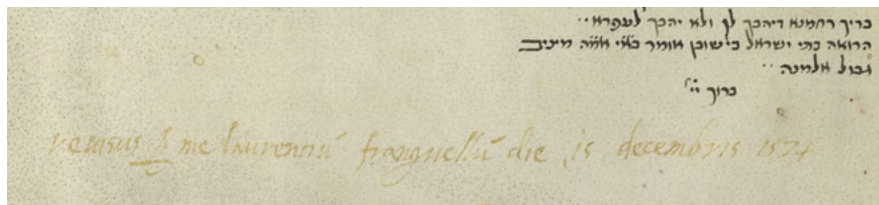


Fig. 2: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 237r.

The note יצחק מארלי על ידי מתוקן appears at the beginning of the introduction to the *Mishna* by Maimonides on fol. 2r (Fig. 1), while the Christian censor's note – *revisus p[er] me laurentiu' frangellu' die, 15 decembris 1574* – appears at the end of the codex on fol. 237r (Fig. 2).

3.1 Yiṣḥaq of Arles' corrections

There are numerous examples of textual corrections within the codex, but acts of censorship, on the other hand, could only be identified at one point, that being on fols 19v and 20r in the text of the *Mishna Berakhot* 8:6 and Maimonides' commentary to the *Mishna Berakhot* 8:6 and 8:8. The letters גוים and הגוים have been erased from the text and replaced by עע״ז.

The shape of the 'ayin in the corrections (fols 19v/20r) (Fig. 3) matches the handwriting style found in Yiṣḥaq's note at the start of the text (fol. 2r), which allows us to deduce that he made the corrections himself.

3.1.1 Fol. 19v¹, lines 9f. 17, 19⁹⁶ *Mishna Berakhot* 8:6.

⁹⁷ אין מברכין לא על הנר ולא על הבשמים | של {גוים} {עע״ז}

They do not bless over the candles or the spices of the {Gentiles} {idolaters}.

On line 17 of Maimonides' commentary, it says {גוים} {עע״ז} ונר של and on line 19 {גוים} {עע״ז} ובשמים של.

⁹⁶ The blank lines included in the columns were counted here as well.

⁹⁷ The various types of brackets used in the texts cited here mean the following: (...) – the original text that was crossed out or erased; {...} – corrected text written by the censor; [...] – normal deletion; (...) – normal correction.

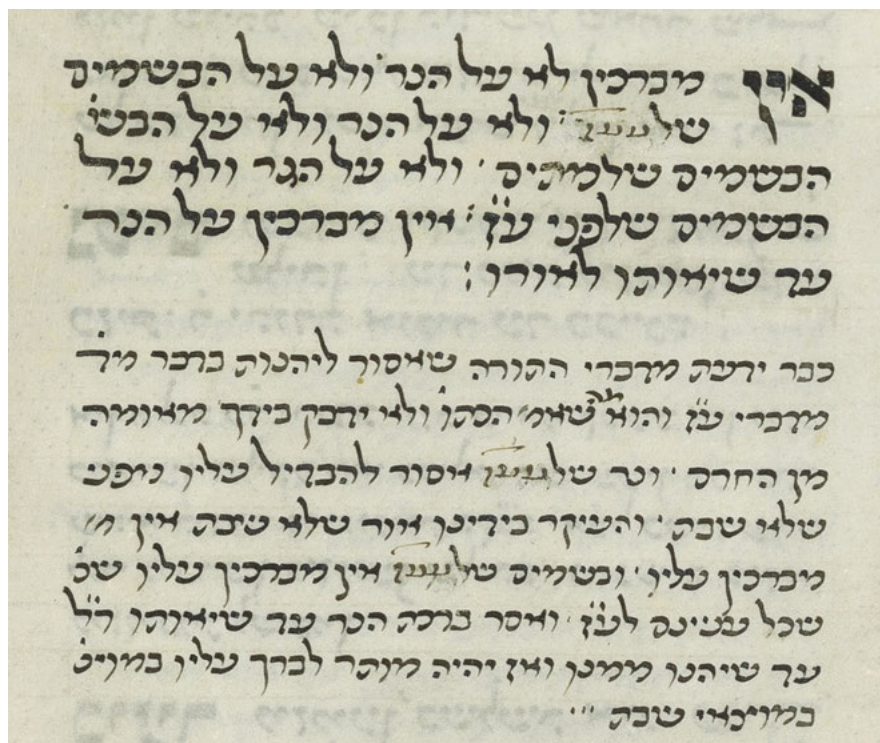


Fig. 3: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 19v^l, lines 9–22.

3.1.2 Fol. 20r^l, lines 1–10: *Mishna Berakhot* 8:8, Maimonides' commentary

ומצאו להם בהר ההוא דמות יונה | וידעו שהם עובדים ע"ז ואז החזיקום בחזקת {גוים} {עצ"ז} | גמורים לכל דבריהם: וכל מה שתמצא במשנה מן | הדברים בעניין הכותים אשר תבין מהם שהכותים | נכבדים מן {הגוים} {מעצ"ז} ופחותין מישראל כמו שאמרו | מזמנין עם הכותי. וכותי המברך וזולתו. לא אמרו | זה אלא קודם שחקרו עליהם. אבל מעת שחקרו | עליהם ומצאו אשר זכרנו הם פחותין מן {הגוים} {עצ"ז} | מאד. ועל כן דע אותו ולא נצטרך לשנות | לך זה העיקר בכל מקום שנוכח כותי:

And (the Sages) found that the Cuthites had the figure of a dove on that mountain⁹⁸ and the Sages realised they were worshipping idolatry. Then they were considered to be com-

⁹⁸ Babylonian Talmud *Hullin* 6a.

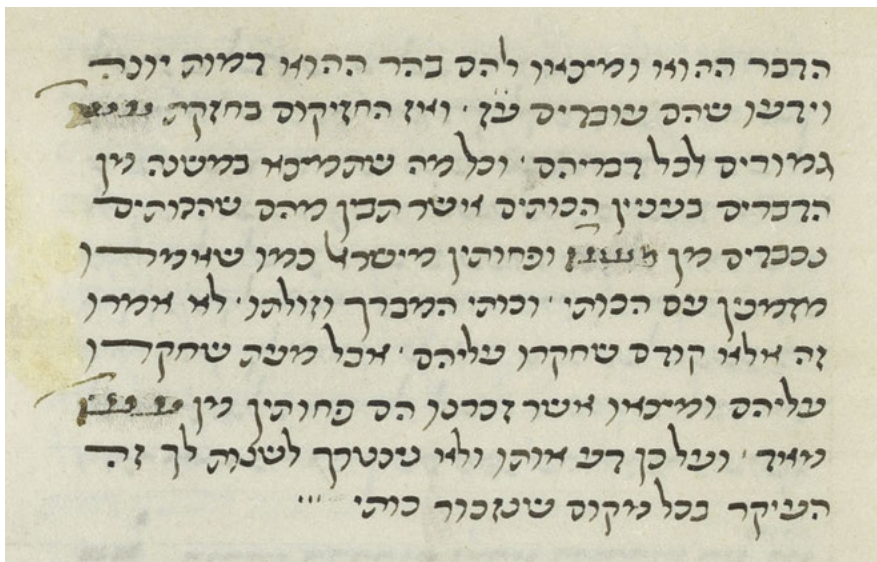


Fig. 4: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 20r^l, lines 1–10.

plete {heathens}{idolaters} in all respects. Wherever you find in the Mishna an allusion to the Cuthites from which we might infer that Cuthites are more honourable than {heathens} {idolaters} though less than Israelites as we have mentioned 'a Cuthite may be included for *zimmun*'⁹⁹ and, 'a Cuthite who says a benediction'¹⁰⁰ and the like, such a statement refers to the stage prior to the (Sages') investigation when they found to be (idolaters), as we have explained; they are much less (honourable) than {heathens}{(other) idolaters}. Therefore, know well, so that it will be necessary to repeat this principle wherever (the name) Cuthite is mentioned.¹⁰¹

With the aid of a processed digital reproduction, it is possible to make out the word גוים on fol. 19v, but not on fol. 20v. The reason why the erasure here is so thorough may have to do with the nature of the parchment surface. Based on the available space, we may once again assume this originally read גוים or הגוים. This reading is provided in both the Ms. Kaufmann manuscript and the Soncino (Naples 1492) print, with the traditional printing matching the censor's interpretation.

In general, the word גוי ('Gentile', 'non-Jew') was deemed problematic, as this equally applied to Christians, and every passage could thus contain an anti-

⁹⁹ Mishna Berakhot 7:1.

¹⁰⁰ Mishna Berakhot 8:8.

¹⁰¹ This translation is based on Rosner 1975, 219.

Christian sentiment. However, passages from the Halakha were largely exempt, according to the rules of the later *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.¹⁰² As a result, we find no examples of censorship in other passages in the codex, such as fol. 110v^{II} *Mishna Shabbat* 23:4¹⁰³; fol. 126r^{II} *Mishna Pesahim* 3:7; fol. 138r^{II} *Mishna Sheqalim* 7:6; fol. 152r^I *Mishna Beša* 3:2; fol. 159v^I *Mishna Ta'anit* 3:7 etc. In traditional prints, however, the word נכרי ('stranger') can be found in these passages, evidence that there were precautionary changes to the printing to ensure there was no cause for objection, even though technically, according to the rules of the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*, both נכרי and גוי should have been erased or replaced by עכו"ם ('worshipper of stars and the zodiac').¹⁰⁴

The term 'idolater', as found in traditional prints of *Mishna Berakhot* 8:6 – when not referring specifically to idolatry in the past – is similarly considered problematic in the general rules and was to be replaced with the word עכו"ם.¹⁰⁵

Maimonides' commentary on *Mishna Berakhot* 8:8 was presumably decisive for Yiṣḥaq of Arles' intervention, in which he explained the position of the Samaritans in relation to Israel on the one hand and the Gentiles on the other. The Samaritans differ from the Gentiles in being descendants of the Northern Kingdom, and as a result, they were not originally considered Gentiles in all matters, but were more esteemed. However, when the sages found that the Samaritans kept the image of a dove on Mount Gerizim, they were seen to be idolaters and were no longer to be trusted in any matters concerning idolatry. They then commanded even less respect than the Gentiles. Although the discussion revolves around the Samaritans, there remains a form of judgemental ranking of Israel, the Samaritans and the Gentiles. If the Samaritans were now less esteemed than the Gentiles, there remained an implied derogative against the Gentiles. Yiṣḥaq used the substitute term עובדי זרה עבודה (‘idolater’). However, the original point of the commentary, whether the Samaritans should be seen as Gentiles or as part of Israel, is made meaningless by this alteration, given that the word ‘Gentile’ no longer appears in the text.

¹⁰² Popper 1889, 59, 82; Porges 1903, 286; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 121; Prebor 2008, 53.

¹⁰³ Ms. Kaufmann also reads גוי in all the passages with the exception of *Mishna Pesahim* 3:7 (גויס).

¹⁰⁴ 'When the word *goy*, *goyim*, *nokhri*, or *nokhrit* [Gentiles] appears, if it may be understood as implying slander, insult, or vilification of the Gentile, the word should be erased and replaced by *aku"m*. If, however, it deals with any of the laws of the Hebrews, such as the laws of the Sabbath or prohibited foods, or wine touched by a Gentile or such, it is acceptable.' Rule 3 in Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 121; cf. Porges 1903, 286; Prebor 2008, 16, 53.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Popper 1899, 82; Porges 1903, 287; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 121; Prebor 2008, 16.

No passages appear to have been deleted from this manuscript (i.e. blackened out), such as was the norm for Christian censors, which leaves fols 19v/20r the only passage exhibiting evidence of censorship, and that being in the form of a textual correction.

3.2 Analysis of the ink in collaboration with Ira Rabin

Ira Rabin from the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures carried out an analysis of the ink (see Appendix) on the following areas: from the main text and the note by Yiṣḥaq of Arles on fol. 2r,¹⁰⁶ from the corrections on fol. 19v and fol. 20r,¹⁰⁷ and from Laurentius Franguellus' signature on fol. 237r.¹⁰⁸ According to Ira Rabin's analysis, there were three different inks used:

The corrections on the pages fol. 19v and fol. 20r and the signature from the page fol. 2r are conducted in the same ink, which is different from the main ink. Laurentius (fol. 237r) is conducted in a different ink. It should be pointed out though that the corrections, the signature of Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Laurentius' signature all contain nickel. This is an indication that the inks probably come from the same location.¹⁰⁹

This confirms our assumption that the censorship of the one passage in this codex was carried out by Yiṣḥaq of Arles. On the other hand, Laurentius Franguellus, who 'reviewed' the manuscript (*revisus per me*), did not delete anything from the text.

The nickel content of the inks used by Yiṣḥaq and Laurentius Franguellus indicate that they came from the same location, which corresponds to their activities in Ferrara. Whether or not the two of them were there at the same time cannot be determined from the results of the ink analysis.

The ink used by the scribe differs from these two inks, containing no nickel but showing a great similarity to that used in writing Codex hebraicus 53, in whose production the same scribe participated six years earlier.

106 See Fig. 1.

107 See Figs 3 and 4.

108 See Fig. 2.

109 Rabin 2015, *Ink analysis, Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18 and Cod. hebr. 53*; see diagram 2 in the appendix.

4 Hamburg State and University Library, Codex hebraicus 53

According to the colophon (fol. 198v), this multiple-text manuscript was also written by Yeḩuti'el ben Yeḩi'el in 1410, probably in Perugia. However, only fols 122r–198v were written by him personally, fols 2r–121v and fols 200r–241v being produced by a different scribe.¹¹⁰ The codex contains Menaḩem Recanati's commentary on the Tora and Prayers as well as some short excerpts from the *Zohar* on fol. 199. This folio differs from the rest of the manuscript both in the handwriting and the ink used. The client, Yehoshua' ben Binyamin, sold the codex to 'Immanu'el ben Dani'el later (fol. 1r). His name is emphasised on numerous pages by three dots on the initial letters of lines,¹¹¹ while a number of different notes and texts by him can be found elsewhere, for example on fols 1r–2r, 198v and 215r–216r.

As with Cod. hebr. 18, Yiṣṣaq of Arles' notation is to be found at the beginning of the manuscript on fol. 1r (Fig. 5). However, below מארלי we also find the word מוֹקָק written in another ink and smaller letters, added as an explanation to make it clear that מְתוּקָק is not to be understood simply in the sense of 'corrected' or 'improved' but indeed as an act of censorship.

Words in this codex have been crossed out by a censor, however the name of a Christian censor is missing from the end of the manuscript. Presumably this was written on one of the final folios, cut out before the rear flyleaf. It is also striking how often the word עיין appears in the margins or between the columns, emphasised through ornamentation.

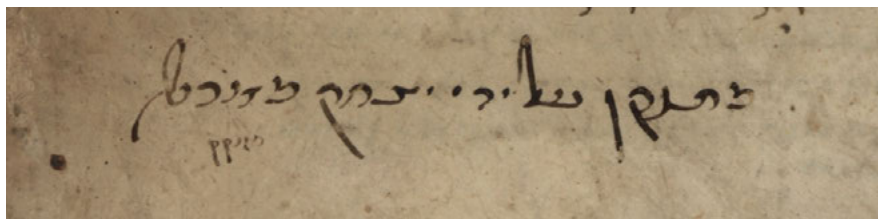


Fig. 5: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 1r, top.

¹¹⁰ See SfarData no. 0G157.

¹¹¹ Fols 8r, 9v, 28r, 53v, 61r, 79r, 95v, 97v, 98r, 99r, 101v, 106v, 107r, 111r (2×), 121v, 124v (2×), 125r, 134v, 166v, 193r, 196v, 211v.

4.1 Yiṣḥaq of Arles' corrections

As in Cod. hebr. 18, passages can be found where the existing text was erased and a correction supplemented either over the top of the erasure or in the margin next to the respective column. Some sections can clearly be traced back to Yiṣḥaq of Arles, particularly on the basis of the shape of the *'ayin*, however given that no longer passage of text in his hand exists, not all of his letterforms are known to us, and therefore many passages cannot be positively identified without further evidence. His method differed from the way Christian censors crossed out individual words or passages, as was standard practice in most censored codices, and this manuscript is no different, as seen for example on fol. 125^v. The sections which can be attributed to Yiṣḥaq of Arles' actions are detailed below. In addition to his alterations to the text, we of course find the usual textual corrections.

A number of manuscripts have survived containing Recanati's commentary on the Tora, of which many were censored or bear the mark of a censor. These include codex Ms. Canonici Or. 85¹¹² in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (hereafter Ms. Oxford 85), which was censored by Domenico Gerosolimitano in 1597 (fol. 199r) and Giovanni Domenico Carretto in 1617, and the codex Parma Biblioteca Palatina Cod. Parm. 3538¹¹³ (hereafter Ms. Parma 3538), which exhibits the deletions of a censor. Both are accessible on the internet and are used by way of comparison to examine to what extent the corrections made by Yiṣḥaq of Arles corresponded to the changes made by other censors. The *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* is also considered here, even though this compilation must be dated later than Yiṣḥaq's period of activity. We refer to the general rules of censorship¹¹⁴ and the list of passages to be censored in Recanati's *Perush*.¹¹⁵

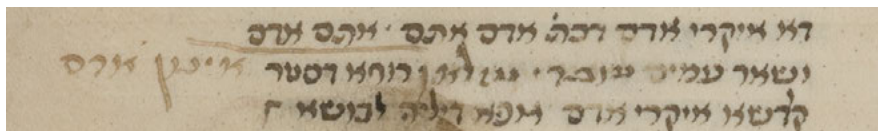
Giving the relevant folio and lines of the Hamburg manuscript, I have included a reference to the modern edition by Amnon Gros.

112 <http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/9f3afa6e-bb0b-4dd4-a14f-dcb7e719cb6c>, viewed on 27 Mar 2017; Neubauer 1886, 563, no. 1611; IMHM no. F 17189.

113 http://web.nli.org.il/sites/nli/english/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presentorid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000067529-1, viewed on 27 Mar 2017; IMHM no. F 14045, MSS-D 6047.

114 Prebor 2008, 53f. Also cf. Popper 1899, 82f.; Porges 1903, 286–288; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 121–123.

115 Prebor 2008, 215f.

4.1.1 Fol. 12r^{ll}, lines 3–5 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 54)Fig. 6: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 12r^{ll}, lines 3–5.

דכת' אדם אדם. אתם אדם | ושאר עמים (לאו אינון אדם) {עובדי ע"ז לאו} + {אינון אדם}

Before the correction, the text read as follows:

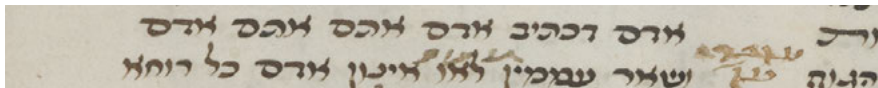
As it is written: 'You are "Adam".' (Ezekiel 34:31). You are 'Adam' and the other nations are not 'Adam'.

After the correction, the text reads:

As it is written: 'You are "Adam".' (Ezekiel 34:31). You are 'Adam' and the other nations. The idolaters (however) not, they are not 'Adam'.

Because it was written over, the erased text is difficult to decipher now. However, the exaggerated length of the *lamed* is still recognisable. אדם can mean both 'Adam' and 'person'. The Jews can be equated to 'Adam', but the nations of the world cannot, as they do not possess the same kind of soul.¹¹⁶ The dividing line drawn between Israel and the other nations is rescinded by this correction. Instead, the contrast is drawn between Israel and the other nations on the one hand and the idolaters on the other.

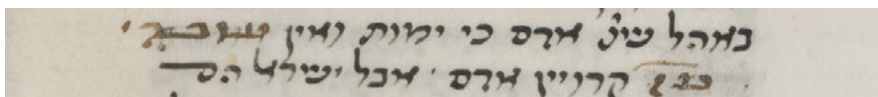
¹¹⁶ See Scholem 1961, 281f.; Wolfson 2006, 42–47 about this part: 'Jews alone possess the human soul (*nefesh adam*) in its ideal or pristine sense and hence they are differentiated ontologically from other nations.' (43); Ogren 2009, 79f.

4.1.2 Fol. 112v^l, lines 20–21 (ed. Gros שמיני, p. 46)Fig. 7: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 112v^l, lines 20–21.

אדם דכתיב אדם אתם אדם | ושאר עממין {ע"ז} {עובדי ע"ז} לאו אינון אדם

'Adam' is written. You are 'Adam' and the rest of the nations. The {idolaters} {the idolaters} they are not 'Adam'.

The abbreviation ע"ז ('idolaters') added above the line is repeated in the margin to the right of the column. With this addition, the text is altered corresponding to the passage on fol. 12r. Similar additions are found in Ms. Oxford 85 on fol. 11v (עובדי ע"ז) as a marginal note [to *parasha* בראשית] and on 120r (עכ"ז) as an interlinear note [to *parasha* שמיני]. In Ms. Parma 3538, the text on fol. 117r (to *parasha* שמיני) following אדם was blacked out; the passage to בראשית, on the other hand, is not present.¹¹⁷ This passage respectively interpretation is also objected to in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.¹¹⁸

4.1.3 Fol. 158v^l, lines 22–23 (ed. Gros חקת, p. 74)Fig. 8: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 158v^l, lines 22–23.

ואין {אומות} {עובדי} | {העולם} {ע"ז} קרוין אדם

The {nations of the world} {idolaters} are not called 'Adam'.

¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, the codex is incomplete. Apart from that, it has been rebound incorrectly. The beginning of it is missing and the correct order of the leaves should be fols 17–24, gap, fols 2–10, fols 25–33, gap, fol. 1, fols 95–114, fols 34–56, fols 58–94, fols 115–134, gap, fol. 57 and fols 11–16 (ends with the *parasha* נשא).

¹¹⁸ Prebor 2008, 215.

The interpretation of Ezekiel 34:31 from fols 12v and 112v can be found here again with the same correction made and אומות העולם replaced with עובדי ע"ז.

There is no alteration of this passage on fol. 162r in Ms. Oxford 85, while this text is missing from Ms. Parma 3538. In the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* this passage is marked as one to be erased.¹¹⁹

4.1.4 Fol. 158v^{II}, lines 17–34 (ed. Gros חקת, p. 74)

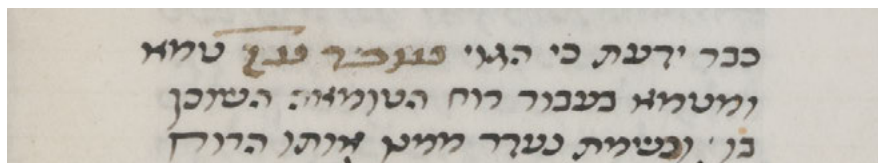


Fig. 9: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 158v^{II}, lines 17–19.

כבר ידעת כי הגוי (בעוֹדוֹ בְּחַיִּים) {עובד ע"ז} טמא | ומטמא בעבור רוח הטומאה השוכן בו.

You have already recognised that (while he lives,) a Gentile {who practises idolatry} is impure. He pollutes through the spirit of impurity that resides within him.

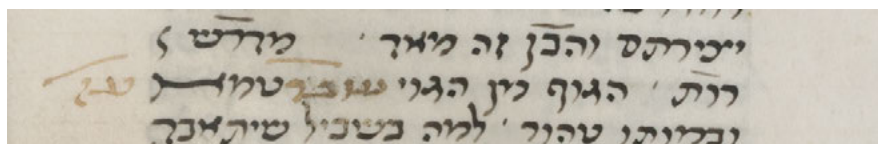


Fig. 10: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 158v^{II}, lines 32–34.

הגוף מן הגוי (בחייו) {עובד ע"ז} ¹²⁰טמא | ובמותו טהור

The body of the Gentile, (while he lives){who practises idolatry}, is impure, and with his death he is pure.

The declaration regarding the impurity of non-Jews, which complicated contact with Jews and promoted the separation of Jews and non-Jews, is now restricted through the addition of 'who practises idolatry'. This amendment means that not

¹¹⁹ Prebor 2008, 216.

¹²⁰ The abbreviation is in the left-hand margin.

all Gentiles are implied, only those who practise idolatry. Yiṣḥaq of Arles obviously sees a form of disparagement in the impurity of the Gentile.

There are no alterations to the text on fol. 162r^{II} of Ms. Oxford 85 regarding the impurity of nations, while the text is not present in Ms. Parma 3538. This entire passage is objected to in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.¹²¹

4.1.5 Fol. 123v^{II}, lines 6–9 from the bottom (ed. Gros קדושים, p. 96)

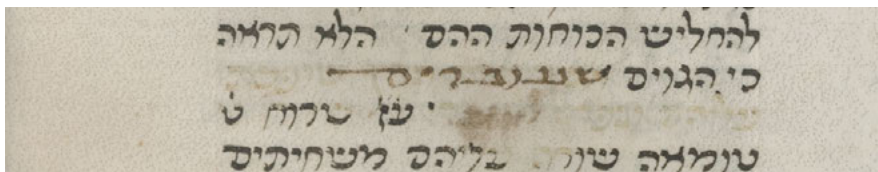


Fig. 11: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 123v^{II}, lines 6–9 from the bottom.

הלא תראה | כי (הגוים אשר מדת הדין שופעת) {שעובדים} | (עליהם ובפרט לכוזר). ע"ז שרוח ט' | טומאה שורה עליהם

Do you not see that the nations on whom the divine attribute of justice flows, in particular on the priest of idol worship, above whom a spirit of impurity hovers.

The corrected text reads:

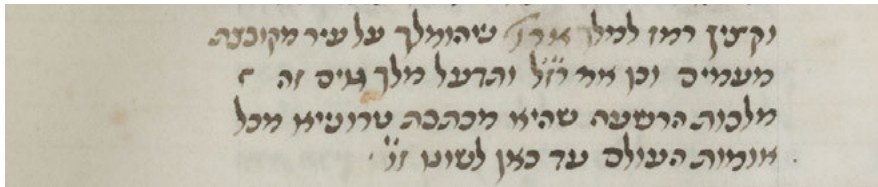
Do you not see that they who practise idolatry, that a spirit of impurity hovers over them.

As the erased text has not been completely overwritten, some parts are still easily readable.

Fol. 131v^{II} in Ms. Oxford 85 was not censored. The entire passage from הלא תראה has been blacked out on fol. 127r in Ms. Parma 3538, just as it has been listed to be erased in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.¹²²

¹²¹ Prebor 2008, 215.

¹²² Prebor 2008, 216.

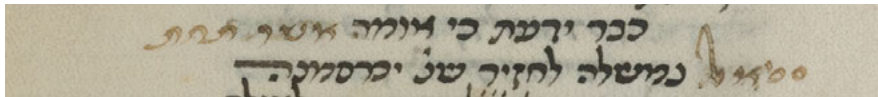
4.1.6 fol. 37r^{ll}, lines 17–20 (ed. Gros לך לך, p. 187f.)Fig. 12: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 37r^{ll}, lines 17–20.

רמו למלך (רומי)¹²³ {אדום} שהומלך על עיר מקובצת | מעמים וכן אמר ר' זיל ותדעל מלך גוים זה | מלכות הרשעה שהיו מכתבת טרוניא מכל | אומות העולם עד כאן לשוננו ז"ל.

This points to the king of (Rome) {Edom}, who was appointed as king over the city where the nations are gathered. And so said our teachers – may they be blessed – ‘and of Tidal, king of nations’ (Genesis 14:1) – that is the wicked government ...

The word ‘Rome’, one of the problematic terms, is replaced here by ‘Edom’, which itself however is objected to in the general rules of the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*, since it generally refers to ‘Rome’.¹²⁴

On fol. 38r^l of Ms. Oxford 85, the two words רומי and הרשעה have been erased; it is still possible to make out remnants of the letters, though.¹²⁵ The word רומי has been struck through on fol. 101r^l of Parma 3538, and the following הרשעה after מלכות erased. The following words העולם were similarly blacked out. This passage is also objected to in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.¹²⁶

4.1.7 Fol. 162r^{ll}, lines 9–10 from the bottom (ed. Gros בלק, p. 88).Fig. 13: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 162r^{ll}, lines 9–10 from the bottom.

¹²³ The word is not discernable anymore, but is in this form included in the edition by Gros.

¹²⁴ Popper 1899, 59; Porges 1903, 287; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 122; Prebor 2008, 16–9, 54.

¹²⁵ The whole paragraph itself is marked by a pointer in the left-hand margin, and to the right of the column there is a brief note at the end: עד כאן (‘up to here’).

¹²⁶ Prebor 2008, 215.

כבר ידעת כי אומה {הרשעה} אשר תחת | {הזאת} {סמאל} נמשלה לחזיר שני יכרסמנה

You already know that {this wicked} nation {under (the reign) of Sama'el} is comparable to a pig, as it is said: '(the boar from the forest) ravages it' (Psalm 80:14).

The phrase *הזאת הרשעה* ('this wicked nation') refers to Rome, which is why the word 'wicked' has been struck out and replaced by *אשר תחת סמאל* ('under [the reign] of Sama'el'). However, since Sama'el is associated with the devil or Satan, the wording has hardly been softened, but it no longer refers directly to Rome.

There are no acts of censorship at this point on fol. 165r in Ms. Oxford 85; the text is not included in Ms. Parma 3538. This passage and its overall context is objected to in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.¹²⁷

4.1.8 Fol. 58r^{ll}, lines 11–16 (ed. Gros ויישב, p. 302).

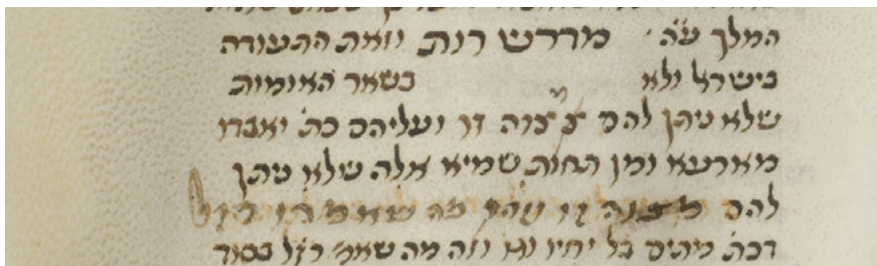


Fig. 14: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 58r^{ll}, lines 11–16.

וזאת התעודה | בישראל ולא בשאר האומות | שלא ניתן להם [צ] (מ)צוה זו ועליהם כת' יאבדו | מארעא ומן תחת
שמיא אלה שלא ניתן | להם (תקומה לא בעולם הזה ולא בעולם הבא)¹²⁸ {מצוה זו וזה} [?] מה שאמרו רז"ל | דכת' מתים
בל יחיו וגו' וזה מה שאמ' רז"ל בסוד'

And this is the testimony in Israel and not among other nations, for this commandment is not given to them. And about them is written: 'They must perish from the earth and from under the heavens' (Jeremiah 10:11). For it is not given to them (to exist, neither in this world nor in the world to come), as it is written: 'The dead will not live etc.' (Isaiah 26:14). And this is what our teachers – may they be blessed – said ...

¹²⁷ Prebor 2008, 216.

¹²⁸ Parts of the erased text are still discernable.

The censored passage reads:

And this is the testimony in Israel and not among other nations, for this commandment is not given to them. And about them is written: 'They must perish from the earth and from under the heavens' (Jeremiah 10:11), for {this commandment} is not given to them, {and this is what our teachers – may they be blessed – said,} as it is written: 'The dead will not live etc.' (Isaiah 26:14). And this is what our teachers – may they be blessed – said ...

In place of the erasure which states that the nations of the world will not endure in this world nor in the next, Yiṣḥaq of Arles adds *מצוה זו*, and fills the space available with four words from the following lines, producing a nonsensical doubling of the text. The passage deals with the commandment of levirate marriage, which is ascribed great significance in the context of the transmigration of souls.¹²⁹

There is no censorship of fol. 62v¹ in Ms. Oxford 85. On fol. 42v of Ms. Parma 3538 the entire text from *בל יחיו וגו' ... כל יאבדו* has been blacked out. Only the ascenders and descenders of the letters are visible. This passage is also listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.¹³⁰

4.1.9 Fol. 120r¹, lines 7–13 (ed. Gros *אחרי מות*, p. 77)

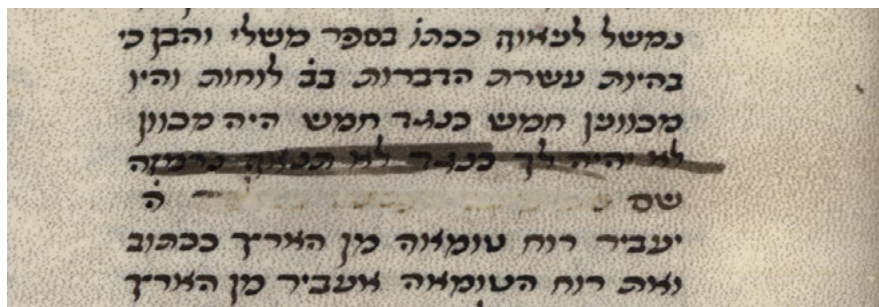


Fig. 15: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 120r¹, lines 7–13.

והבן כי | בהיות עשרת הדברות בב' לוחות והיו | מכוונין חמש כנגד חמש היה מכוון | (לא יהיה לך כנגד לא תנאף
נרמזה) | שם (האמונה בעולם)¹³¹ ה' יעביר רוח טומאה מן הארץ ככתוב | ואת רוח הטומאה אעביר מן הארץ

¹²⁹ Cf. Ogren 2009, 67f., 183.

¹³⁰ Prebor 2008, 215.

¹³¹ In Gros's edition, it also says *רעה* after *אמונה*.

It is possible to decipher the erased text with the aid of a multi-spectral image: האמונה שפשטה בעולם ('the faith that spread throughout the world').¹³² The full text reads as follows:

And know that when the Decalogue stood on the two tablets, there were five on (each tablet) and there stood ('Thou shalt have no (other gods before me)' (Exodus 20:3) opposite 'Thou shalt not commit adultery' (Exodus 20:14)¹³³. This is a reference) (the faith that has spread throughout the world) – may the Lord cause the unclean spirit to pass, as it is written: 'and (also) I will cause (the prophets) and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land' (Zechariah 13:2).

The words in line 11 (the faith that has spread throughout the world) refer to the Christian faith which embraces the doctrine of the Trinity and therefore represents a violation of the second commandment from a Jewish perspective. These words are neatly erased such that the subsequent appeal for the unclean spirit to pass now pertains to the prohibition of adultery and not to the faith that has spread.

By contrast, line 10 ('Thou shalt have no other gods before me' opposite 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'. This is a reference) has been crossed out. While additions can often be ascribed to a specific hand, erasures do not provide any clues as to who made them. Since it is unlikely for a censor to have made a strike-through and an intricate erasure within the same passage, however, we can assume that it was the censor who deleted the juxtaposition of the two commandments – and also blacked out some words in other passages – but Yişhaq of Arles who made the erasure since we know that he also made other erasures and corrections in the text.

According to rabbinic tradition, the Ten Commandments were divided between the two tablets with five on each tablet. This means that in the rabbinic version, the second commandment 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me' (Exodus 20:3) stood opposite the seventh commandment 'Thou shalt not commit adultery' (Exodus 20:14). The division of the Decalogue in Exodus 20 into ten distinct commandments and the numbering of the commandments is disputed in Judaism and Christianity. The division into two groups of five, which is the division assumed here, and the arrangement and numbering of the second and seventh commandments do not comply with the teachings of the Catholic Church.¹³⁴

¹³² Reeg 2014c, 71.

¹³³ Compare *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishma'el, ba-ḥodesh* 8 (ed. Horovitz/Rabin 1930, 233.)

¹³⁴ Regarding the division of the Decalogue, see Reicke 1973.

In Ms. Oxford 85, only the words האמונה שפשטה בעולם are blacked out on fol. 127v/128r. The words שם האמונה שפשטה בעולם are deleted on fol. 124r of Ms. Parma 3538, as are the words which come after מן הארץ. This passage is contested twice in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* – once at the beginning in a list of general passages added by Domenico Gerosolimitano,¹³⁵ and again in the list of problematic passages which was taken from Recanati's *Perush*.¹³⁶

4.1.10 Fol. 154r^l, lines 14–16 (ed. Gros שלח, p. 55)

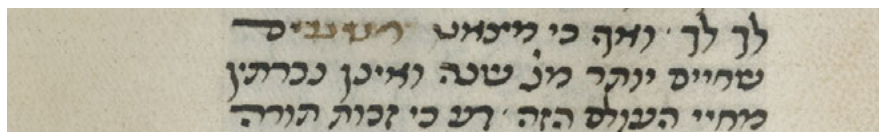


Fig. 16: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 154r^l, lines 14–16.

ואף כי מצאנו (משומד) {רשע} ים | שחיים יותר מן שנה ואינן נכרתין | מחיי העולם הזה.

Even if we find (apostates) {wicked} who have lived longer than 50 years and have not yet been eradicated from life in this world.

The general rules set out in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* contest the word משומד, calling for it to be replaced by the term עכר"ם ('venerator/worshipper of stars and the zodiac').¹³⁷

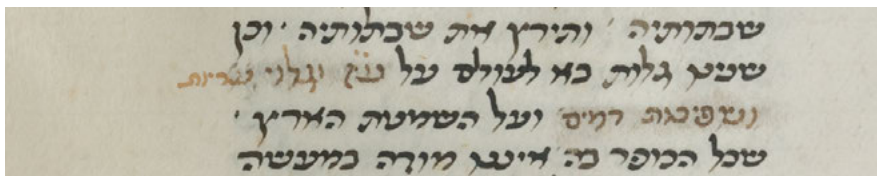
Fol. 158r^l in Ms. Oxford 85 was not censored. The text is not included in Ms. Parma 3538. However, the section containing this passage is listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ בריקנטי פ' אחרי מות בפסוק ענין המולך חרוף גדול נגד אדונינו ואמו הקדושה באמרו ש' הדברות דבור לא יהיה לך ('In Recanati's *parasha* מות אחרי in the section about the matter with the Moloch, [there is] great blasphemy against our Lord and against His Holy Mother with the proclamation about the Decalogue "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" opposite "Thou shalt not commit adultery"'); see Prebor 2008, 31.

¹³⁶ Prebor 2008, 215.

¹³⁷ See Popper 1899, 83; Porges 1903, 287; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 121f.; Prebor 2008, 53.

¹³⁸ Prebor 2008, 215.

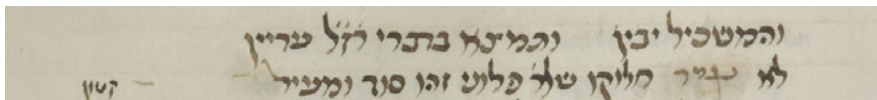
4.1.11 fol. 133r^l, lines 11 – 12 from bottom (ed. Gros ביהר סיני, p. 134)Fig. 17: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 133r^l, lines 11–12 from bottom.

וכן | שנינו גלות בא לעולם על {ע"ז וגלוי עריות | ושפיכות דמים}

We learned: exile comes upon the world because of {idolatry, incest and the shedding of blood}.

The corrected text mirrors the text of *Mishna Avot* 5:9. It is impossible to decipher the part which is erased. The same passage in Gros's edition reads as follows: עיניי | שנינו גלות בא לעולם על {ע"ז וגלוי עריות | ושפיכות דמים} ועל עיוות הדין | ועל השמעת הארץ ('because of the delaying of justice and the perverting of justice'), a quote from *Mishna Avot* 5:8: 'The sword comes upon the world because of the delaying of justice and the perverting of justice ...'. The latter could be interpreted as an accusation against the (Christian) courts and the Christian authorities, in which case it would be 'anti-Christian'¹³⁹ and therefore a passage to be contested. However, it could also be seen as a 'normal' correction – an amendment to the text of the *Mishna*. The shape of the 'ayin suggests the hand of Yişḥaq of Arles. There has been no ink analysis carried out on this section.

There is no evidence of any corrections or censorship measures on fol. 140r^{ll} of Ms. Oxford 85 or on fol. 133v of Ms. Parma 3538. The passage is not mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.

4.1.12 fol. 41r^l, lines 1–2 (ed. Gros וירא, p. 208)Fig. 18: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 41r^l, lines 1–2.

¹³⁹ Cf. Porges 1903, 288; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 123.

עדיין | לא (נשלם) {נגמר} חלוקו שלר' פלוני זהו סוד

Rabbi NN's robe is still not {completely} {finished}. This is a secret.

It is not possible to read the erased word. The נשלם inserted at this point is found in Gros's edition. The handwriting cannot be definitively ascribed to Yiṣḥaq of Arles. In terms of the content, censorship measures do not appear necessary. The text was not corrected on fol. 42v¹ of Ms. Oxford 85 or on fol. 105v of Ms. Parma 3538. The passage is not mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.

4.1.13 Fol. 184v¹¹, lines 6–10 (ed. Gros שופטים, p. 74)

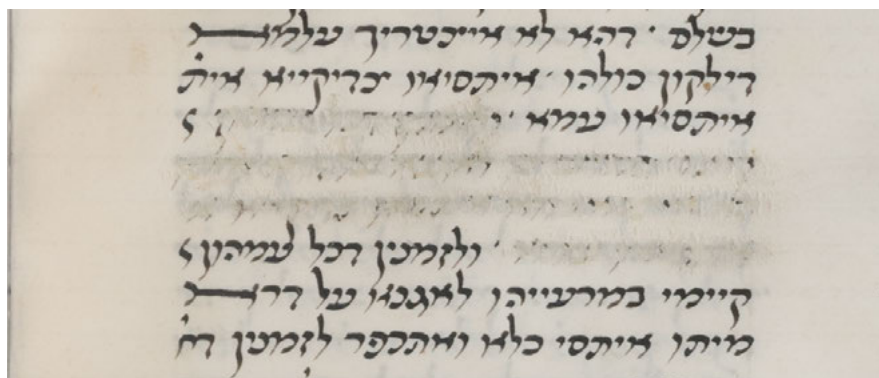


Fig. 19: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 184v¹¹, lines 5–12.

The erasure made after איתסיו עמא | איתסיו צדיקיא אית cannot be ascribed to a specific hand. With a few variations, the text is the same as the text on fol. 186v¹ of Ms. Oxford 85 and in Gros's edition. The text does not appear in Ms. Parma 3538. It is almost certainly a correction to the Aramaic text rather than an act of censorship.

4.1.14 Conclusion

The corrections by Yiṣḥaq of Arles concern passages which are deemed 'anti-Christian'.¹⁴⁰ Some of these passages feature the words גוי ('Gentile'), אומה ('nation') or עם ('nation'), which are all amended such that they refer to עובדי זרה

¹⁴⁰ Prebor 2008, 16.

(‘idolaters’) – a term which is also contestable in certain contexts according to the rules in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* and should be replaced by עֲבוֹדָם (‘worshipper of stars and the zodiac’). They include passages referring to Rome, Edom and the Christian faith in general or they contain the term מְשֻׁמֵּד (‘apostate’), which sometimes refers to baptised Jews.¹⁴¹ Not all of the passages amended by Yiṣḥaq of Arles are also corrected in Ms. Oxford 85 and Ms. Parma 3538, the manuscripts taken as the basis for comparison. The Oxford manuscript does show interventions by the censor in four instances (the first, second, sixth and ninth); equally, there are six instances which show no traces of censorship. Five instances in Ms. Parma 3538 have been censored (the second, fifth, sixth, eighth and ninth), while the text is not included in the other five instances. All instances are listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*. Instances 11 and 12 have not been included here, since it is not clear whether they really do represent acts of censorship.

4.2 Deletions by the censor

The method applied by the censor, who was presumably Christian, is considerably different from that of Yiṣḥaq of Arles. While the latter corrected the text, the censor blacked out the words or passages he objected to with thick strokes of the pen and without any consideration of whether the text remained intelligible. Consequently, only the words that were blacked out are usually listed. Although the reasons for the censorship measures are obvious in some places, they are not immediately apparent in others.

4.2.1 Fol.9r^l, last line (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 39)

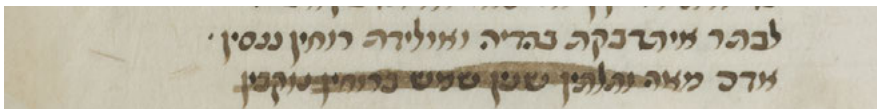


Fig. 20: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 9r^l, last two lines.

אדם (מאה ותלתין שנים שמש ברוחין נוקבין)

¹⁴¹ Popper 1899, 82–83; Porges 1903, 286–288; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 121–123.

Adam (for 130 years had intercourse with female spirits)

This passage was censored on fol. 8v of Ms. Oxford 85, but not on fol. 23r of Ms. Parma 3538. It is not mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.

4.2.2 Fol. 20v¹, lines 7–9 from bottom (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 101)

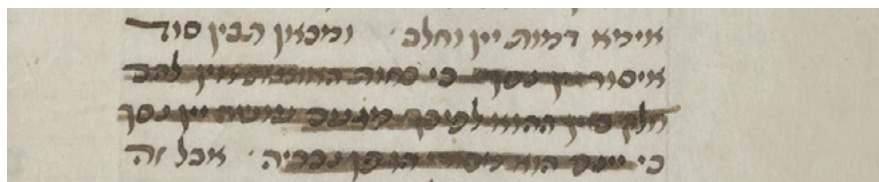


Fig. 21: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 20v¹, lines 7–9 from bottom.

... ומכאן תבין סוד | איסור יין נסך כי כחות האומות אין להם | חלק ביין שהוא לפיכך מגעם עושה יין נסך | כי יינם
הוא מסורי הגפן נכר¹⁴² יה

From here you understand the secret of the pro(hibition of the libation wine, for the powers of the nations have no share in that wine. Therefore – he who sweetens the wine¹⁴² turns it into libation wine.) For ('it originates from the corrupt, foreign vine'.¹⁴³)

The above passage may refer to the wine for the Eucharist. In this case this passages is a vilification, when it is argued that the sacramental wine is obtained from a 'corrupt, foreign vine'.

There are censor marks in this passage, both in Ms. Oxford 85 (fol. 20r) and in Ms. Parma (fol. 9v). It is also noted in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.¹⁴⁴

4.2.3 Fol. 23v¹ right, lines 19, 26–31 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 118)

Line 19: גלות השכינה ('The exile of the Shekhinah')

¹⁴² Read מגעם instead of מנעם.

¹⁴³ Cf. Jeremiah 2:21

¹⁴⁴ Prebor 2008, 215.

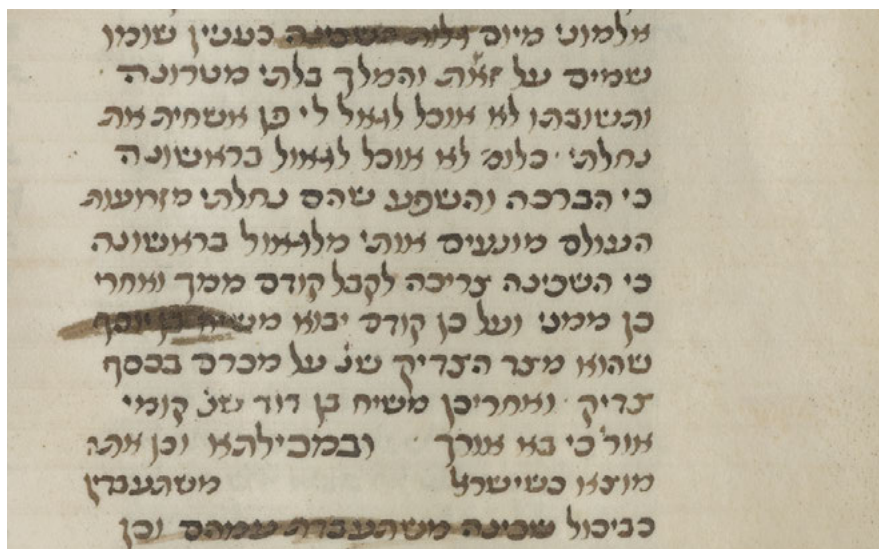


Fig. 22: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 23v, lines 19–31.

Lines 26–29:

ועל כן קודם יבוא משיח בן יוסף | שהוא מצד הצדיק שני על מכרם בכסף | צדיק. ואחריכן משיח בן דוד שני קומי |
אורי כי בא אורך. ובמכילתא וכן אתה | מוצא כשישראל משתעבדין | כביכול (שכינה משתעבדת עמהם) וכן | הוא אומ'
אשר פדית לך ממצרים גוי | ואלהיו.

(Messiah ben Joseph) must therefore come first, he who is from the side of the righteous, as it is said: 'because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes' (Amos 2:6). And thereafter Messiah ben David, as it is said: 'Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the LORD is risen upon thee' (Isaiah 60:1) And in the Mekhilta: and so you find that, whenever Israel is enslaved, (the Shekhinah is enslaved with them), so to speak. And so it says: 'which thou redeemedst to thee from Egypt, from the nations and their gods' (2 Samuel 7:23).

The concept of two Messiahs – one the son of David and the other the son of Joseph – contradicts Christian teaching since Jesus is the Messiah, namely Messiah ben David. There cannot be a second one from a Christian viewpoint and this is to be considered heretical.¹⁴⁵ In the *Midrash*, Amos 2 verse 6 is seen to pertain to the selling of Joseph by his brothers.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Popper 1899, 83.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *Tanḥuma* נה 5 (13b); *Tanḥuma* (ed. Buber) נה 4 (16a); Reeg 1985, 12*.

In the *Mekhilta* text – the text of the quote differs from the Horovitz/Rabin edition¹⁴⁷ – the suffering or exile of Israel is linked to the exile of the Jews.¹⁴⁸ Enslavement or degradation of the Jews would therefore also be directed against God and would be a denouncement of the Church's actions against the Jewish people.

This passage was not censored in Oxford Ms. 85 (fol. 23v) or in Ms. Parma 3538 (fol. 27r). It is cited in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*, however.¹⁴⁹

4.2.4 Fol. 58^r line 3 (ed. Gros וישב , p. 300)



Fig. 23: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 58^r line 3.

אד(ם דוד משיח במ)ספר

Ad(am, David, Messiah).

‘Adam, David Messiah’ – the first three letters of the three names yield the acronym ‘ADaM’. In the context of the reincarnation these three names resp. this acronym signifies that the soul of Adam will transmigrate into David and afterwards into the Messiah. Hence there may be a hint in this passage to the concept of reincarnation.¹⁵⁰ This passage was not censored on fol. 62r of Ms. Oxford 85 or on fol. 42v of Ms. Parma 3538, nor is it listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*. However, there is a note entered in a different passage in the *parasha* בראשית requesting that the words ‘Adam, David, Messiah’ be deleted.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ MekhY פסחא 14 (ed. Horovitz/Rabin 1930, 52).

¹⁴⁸ See also Porges 1903, 287.

¹⁴⁹ Prebor 2008, 215.

¹⁵⁰ Ogren 2009, 76–77.

¹⁵¹ Prebor 2008, 215.

4.2.5 Fol. 120^v, lines 10–11 (ed. Gros אחרי מות, p. 77)

﴿לא יהיה לך כנגד לא תנאף נרמזה﴾

Regarding this passage, see the corrections made by Yiṣḥaq of Arles to instance 4.1.9 on page 417–418.

The passage is not blacked out, neither in Ms. Oxford 85 (fol. 127^v) nor in Ms. Parma 3538 (fol. 124^r). However, it is listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* as requiring deletion.¹⁵²

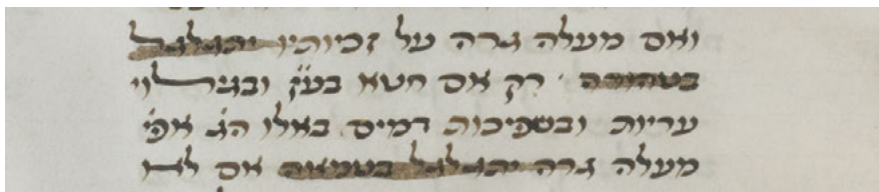
4.2.6 Fol. 113^r, lines 25–28 (ed. Gros שמיני, p. 47f.)

Fig. 24: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 113^r, lines 25–28.

﴿יתגלגל | בטהורה﴾ ... ג(רה יתגלגל בטמאה).

He shall be reborn to purity ... He shall be reborn to impurity.

The concept of reincarnation is prevalent in Jewish mysticism and is also found in Recanati's *Perush*. However, it is condemned by the Catholic Church as 'heresy'.¹⁵³

On fol. 120^v of Ms. Oxford 85, only the word יתגלגל is blacked out both times it occurs, but fol. 117^v of Ms. Parma 3538 has not been censored. This passage may also be included in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* within a longer section.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Prebor 2008, 31, 216.

¹⁵³ Prebor 2008, 54. Cf. Scholem 1961, 264–265; Scholem 1974, 344–349.

¹⁵⁴ Prebor 2008, 215.

4.2.7 Fol. 125v (ed. Gros קדושים, p. 104f.)

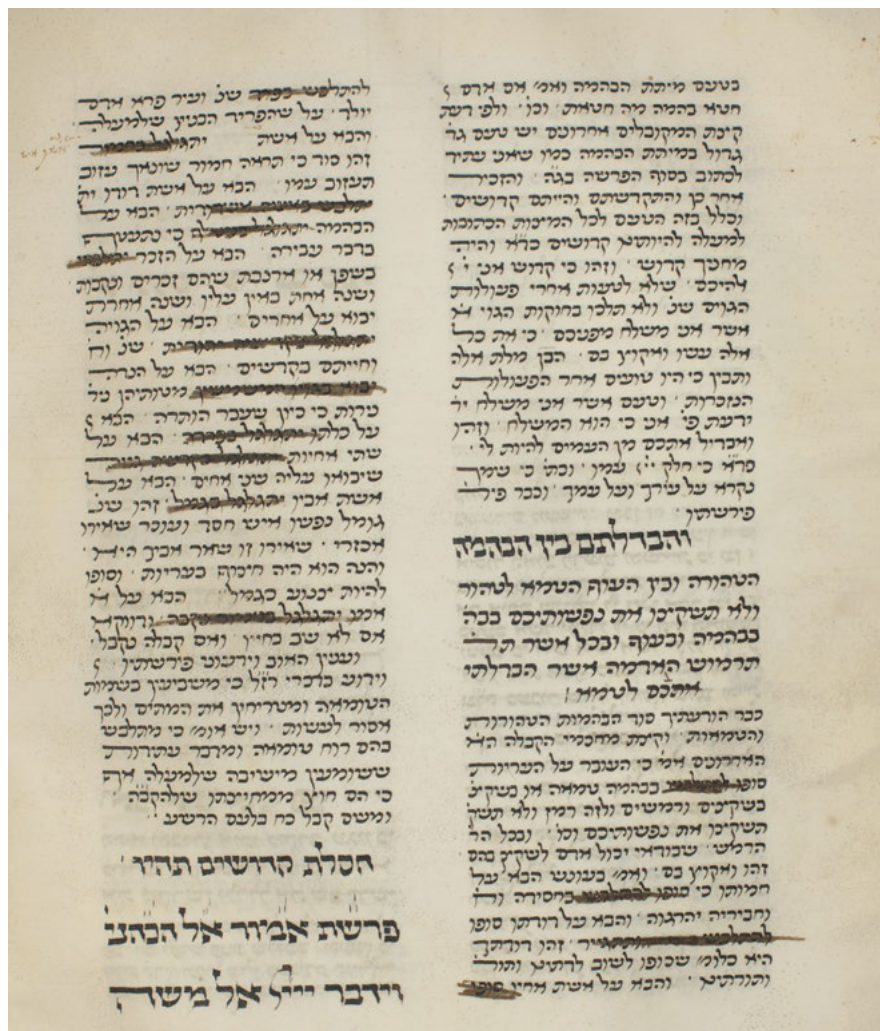


Fig. 25: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 125v.

סו(פו להתלבש) בבהמה ... (סופו להתלבש) ... (להתלבש בגזייה ותתגיי)ר. ... (סופו | להתלבש)בש בפרד) ... ית(גלגל בחמור)
 ... (יתלבש באשה אשדודית) ... (יתגלגל בעטלף) ... (יתלבש) ... (יתגלגל בקדושה יהודית) ... (יבוא בגזייה המשמשין) ...
 כלת(ו יתגלגל בפרדה) ... (יתגלגל בקדשה גזייה) ... (יתגלגל בגמל) ... אמ(ו יתגלגל בחמור נקבה).

The whole passage is concerned with the forms of punishment a soul must accept after infringing a commandment relating to sexual conduct and what embodiment the offending person will be reborn in, as in 'Whoever has carnal relations with their uncle's wife will assume the form of an Ashdodite'.¹⁵⁵ All the verbs connected with the transmigration of souls have been blacked out: יתלבש ('he will assume the form of ...') and יתגלגל ('He will be reborn').

There are also a number of deletions in this piece of writing in Ms. Parma 3538, fol. 128v, and Ms. Oxford 85, fol. 133. While the deletions in the Hamburg and Oxford codices correspond almost completely, other passages that are longer than these have been blacked out in the Parma codex. A remark has also been made in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* about deleting this passage.¹⁵⁶

4.2.8 Conclusion

The censor did not alter the text in three of the seven places where the entry occurs in Ms. Oxford 85 (at the third, fourth and fifth instances, to be precise). The deletions in the two manuscripts largely correspond for the four other instances. In Ms. Parma 3538, there are only two places (no. 2 and 7) where the censor intervened. Unlike the corrections that Yişhaq of Arles made, there is one place in this manuscript that is not listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* (the very first instance). At two points in it (the fourth and sixth instance), it is unclear whether they were included there or not.

Unlike the corrections made by Yişhaq of Arles at points in the manuscript that could be regarded as anti-Christian polemic, the deletions tend to concern individual terms and phrases relating to Catholic teachings and which can therefore be classified as 'heretical'.¹⁵⁷ It seems they were not an issue for Yişhaq of Arles. Three of the seven passages (the fourth, sixth and seventh) are concerned with the notion of the transmigration of souls.

The ink used by the censor does not match the ink that Laurentius Franguellus wrote with, which means he was not the one who made the deletions. Since

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Scholem, 1961, 243. On reincarnation in the early Italian Kabbala, see Ogren 2009.

¹⁵⁶ Prebor 2008, 54, 216.

¹⁵⁷ Prebor 2008, 18f.

it does not contain any nickel,¹⁵⁸ there is no reason to suppose that Yiṣḥaq of Arles and the censor were working in one and the same place. Many manuscripts were reviewed critically a number of times in various waves of censorship, as the several censors' remarks on them show. This happened in the middle of the 16th century, in the 1570s and towards the end of that century. It is therefore not necessarily the case that the (Christian) censoring of this codex occurred while Yiṣḥaq of Arles was active or that it was expedient simply because he was Jewish and his activities as a censor had to be confirmed by a Christian censor. The fact that the strike-throughs were not to be regarded as particularly 'anti-Christian', but rather as 'heresy' could also indicate that a second round of censorship took place, since heresy was a subject of growing importance in the conflict with the Reformation from the middle of the 16th century onwards.

4.3 'Check' – עיין

Apart from the corrections that Yiṣḥaq of Arles made and the deletions due to censorship, the codex contains a number of instances where the expression עיין occurs, meaning 'See' or 'Check'. It is not possible to analyse these passages here, unfortunately, as that would be beyond the scope of this paper. The remarks are not connected with Yiṣḥaq of Arles in any way either, but I would like to list them here, at least. Following the relevant folio of the manuscript, I have included a reference to a modern edition in brackets, either to the edition by A. Gros or the edition of the commentary to the prayers provided by J. Corazzol:

- fol. 17r^{II}, line 13 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 83)
- fol. 18r^{II} line 8 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 88)
- fol. 19r^I, line 1 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 91)
- fol. 24r^{II}, line 4 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 122)
- fol. 25r^{II}, line 24 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 127)
- fol. 27v^I, line 3 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 138)
- fol. 39r^I, line 1 (ed. Gros לך לך, p. 196)
- fol. 44r^{II}, line 12 (ed. Gros וירא, p. 226)
- fol. 51v^I, line 14 (ed. Gros ויצא, p. 264)
- fol. 52v^I, line 1 (ed. Gros וישלח, p. 270)
- fol. 56r^I, line 11 (ed. Gros וישב, p. 291)
- fol. 71v^I, line 1 (ed. Gros בא, p. 39)

158 See diagrams 2 and 4 in the appendix.

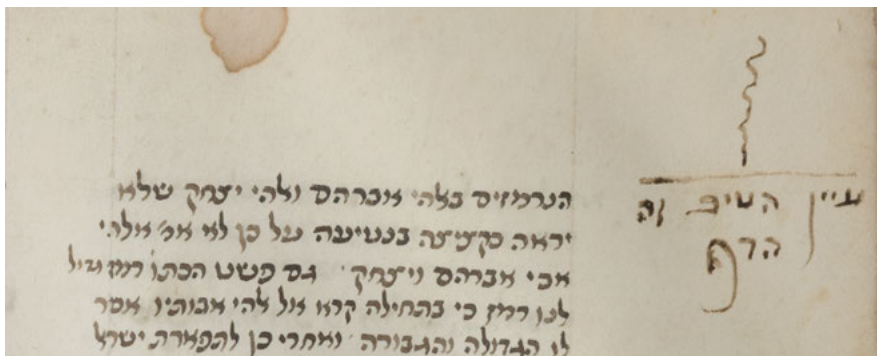


Fig. 26: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 52v.

fol. 76r^I, line 7 (ed. Gros בשלה, p. 60)

fol. 200v^I, line 3 (ed. Corazzol 1.5, p. 27*)

fol. 200v^{II}, line 3 (ed. Corazzol 1.6, p. 29*)

fol. 207v^I, line 29 (ed. Corazzol 7.13.6f, p. 89*)

fol. 207v^{II}, line 29 (ed. Corazzol 7.13.10, p. 91*).

The pointers are in the left- or right-hand margin of each page, with the exception of the two on fols 200v and 207v in Menaḥem Recanati's commentary to the prayers, where they are written in between the two columns. There are two folios that the censor apparently regarded as being particularly important, as his remarks reveal: fol. 52v (Fig. 26), where it says עין הטיב זה הדף ('Check this page in particular'), and fol. 56r, where it says עין הטיב ('Check in particular').

Thanks to the analysis of the ink on fol. 18r,¹⁵⁹ it is now clear that these comments were neither made by the scribe nor the owner of the manuscript ('Immanu'el), and that they were not due to the censor responsible for the deletions either.

A remark of this type, עין, is often connected with censorship. It indicates that a careful check needs to be made to see if it is necessary to intervene at this point in the text.¹⁶⁰ A note of this type also occurs in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* occasionally. At one point, for example, it says ושמ כל ענין הגלגול ע"ה (= על המחק) וצ"ע (וצריך עיון) ('And there the part about the transmigration of souls needs to be deleted and checked')¹⁶¹ concerning a relatively long passage in the *parasha* שמיני

¹⁵⁹ See diagram 4 in the appendix.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Porges 1903, 291; Sonne 1942, 978–979; Prebor 2008, 19.

¹⁶¹ Prebor 2008, 216.

in the commentary of Recanati.¹⁶² Ms. Oxford 85 also contains a עיי in a number of places.¹⁶³ Apart from that, what is particularly noticeable in this manuscript is the numerous pointers drawn on it in the shape of a finger or hand.¹⁶⁴ Presumably, these two symbols both mean the same thing.

4.4 Ink analysis in collaboration with Ira Rabin

The analysis of the inks used, for which more places were sampled than in Cod. hebr. 18, viz. fols 1r,¹⁶⁵ 2r, 18r, 58r,¹⁶⁶ 120r,¹⁶⁷ 121v, 131r, 162r, 166v, 125v,¹⁶⁸ 197r, 198v, 199r and 200r, led to the following results:

1. The two inks that Yiṣḥaq of Arles used in the Cod. hebr. 18 and Cod. hebr. 53 match up; they are the same ink, which contains nickel.¹⁶⁹
2. The inks used in the censorship of Cod. hebr. 53 (fol. 120r, 125v) differ from one another both in terms of the ink the scribes employed for the manuscript and the ink used by Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Laurentius Franguellus. The inks used in both cases of censorship in Cod. hebr. 53 do not contain any nickel.¹⁷⁰ Consequently, there is no reason to assume the same region for these inks and the ink that Yiṣḥaq employed, as in the case of Cod. hebr. 18, even though we cannot be absolutely sure about it, of course. The inks that were used for the two passages that were analysed do not match up entirely, even though they are similar, i.e. we may also be dealing with two different censors here. The inks the censor(s) employed to alter the passages of the manuscript differ from all the other inks that were examined.
3. The ink used to write the note עיי (on fol. 18r) is different to the censor's ink.¹⁷¹
4. Ink A2 used by the first scribe on fols 120r and 121v and ink A4 used by the second scribe, Yequṭi'el, on fols 125v, 166v, 197r and 198v are very similar to

¹⁶² See the sixth instance of a strike-through in Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 113r^l.

¹⁶³ Fols 37, 38v, 39r and other instances.

¹⁶⁴ Fols 20v, 21v, 24 and other instances.

¹⁶⁵ See Fig. 5.

¹⁶⁶ See Fig. 14.

¹⁶⁷ See Fig. 9.

¹⁶⁸ See Fig. 26.

¹⁶⁹ See diagram 2 in the appendix.

¹⁷⁰ See diagram 2 and 4 in the appendix.

¹⁷¹ See diagram 4 in the appendix.

the ink of the second owner, 'Immanu'el, who wrote a number of texts on the blank leaves of the manuscript and emphasised his name on several pages by marking the initial letters of the lines – ink A1 on fol. 1r and 2r, and A3 on fol. 121v and 166v. They can be grouped together to form a specific family of inks.¹⁷²

5. The ink used by the second scribe, Yequti'el, in Cod. hebr. 18 can also be classified as belonging to this family.¹⁷³ Both manuscripts name Yequti'el ben Yehi'el as the scribe in their colophons and were written within six years of each other. They presumably originate from Perugia and Spello, two towns in Umbria.
6. Additional inks employed for corrections, notes and additions and the texts on fol. 199 containing passages from the *Zohar* and fols 200–214 with Recanati's commentary differ from these inks.

5 Summary

Databases such as the catalogue of the National Library of Israel (NLI) and the work by the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM) give us the opportunity to access a considerably larger corpus of material than we were able to do fifty years ago. Thanks to modern analytical techniques such as multi-spectral imaging, it is possible for experts to read faded texts now and even read words and passages that were once erased. The analysis of inks enables us to link written passages to specific scribes who employed inks of this kind in their writing.

As a result of such insights, we can tell that the amendments to texts found in Cod. hebr. 18 were clearly the work of Yiṣḥaq of Arles. The two sets of deletions analysed in Cod. hebr. 53, however, may be the work of two different censors. Whatever the case, the remark עיי was written multiple times by a person with different handwriting. These are merely minor details, admittedly, but they are also significant enough to help us verify or reject hypotheses that have been made. Contrary to what Sonne assumed was the case, a number of things speak for the idea that the corrections made by Yiṣḥaq of Arles did not have to be confirmed by Laurentius Franguellus – or any other Christian censor for that matter –

172 See diagram 3 in the appendix.

173 See diagram 1 and 3 in the appendix.

before they were accepted. The manuscripts that he corrected were presumably censored again sometime later, which is what happened to many other Hebrew manuscripts in the period in question. Yiṣḥaq was one of a small group of Jewish ‘censors’ who were only employed to do such work for a short while until the Catholic Church decided that the censorship of Hebrew manuscripts ought to be conducted by the Church itself. This hypothesis is not intended to question the significance of Sonne’s work by any means, however; after all, he was the scholar who identified Yiṣḥaq as being the brother of Giacomo Geraldini, or rather, Rabbi Joseph of Arles.

6 Appendix in collaboration with Ira Rabin

For comparative analysis of the ink we followed the protocol that is described in great detail in the contribution of Cohen et al. in this volume. In short, with the help of NIR reflectography conducted with a three-colour USB microscope we established that all the inks to be analyzed belong to the iron-gall type. We used commercial high-resolution micro XRF spectrometer Artax (Bruker Nano GmbH) to probe the inks. The exact locations were established with the help of microscopy performed in transition mode so that each analyzed point corresponded to a single ink layer. The data were analyzed with the help of the commercial software ‘Spectra’. To produce comparable charts we normalized the resulting net peak intensities to the intensity of iron, the main ingredient of the iron-gall ink.

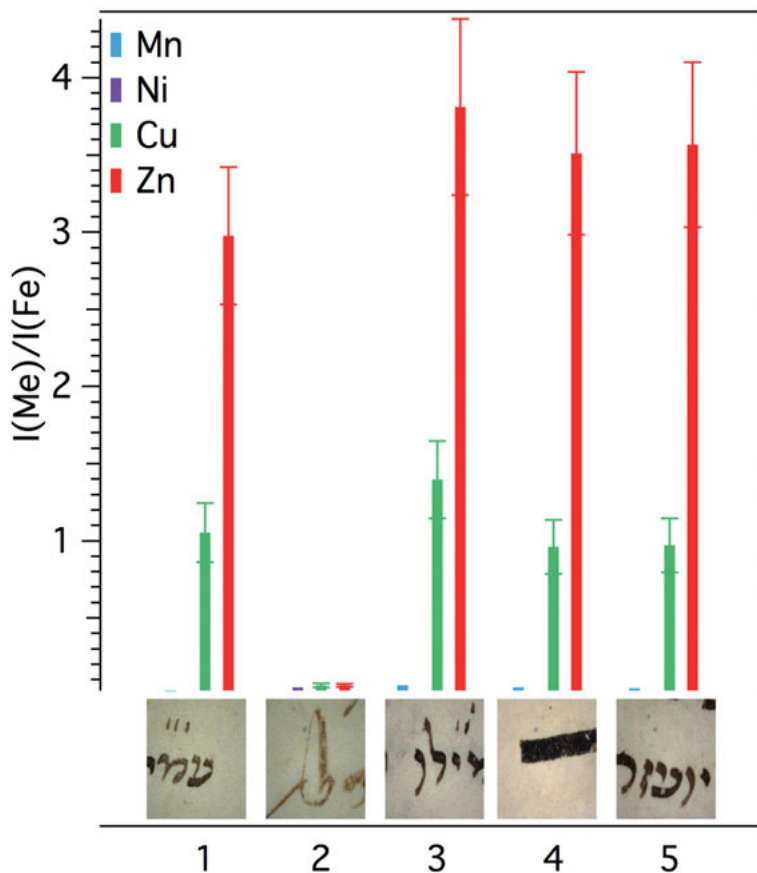


Diagram 1: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18: ink used by the scribe and Yişḥaq of Arles

- 1 – fol. 2r, line 1: עמו – the scribe's ink
- 2 – fol. 2r, below line 1: מארלי לי – ink used by Yişḥaq of Arles
- 3 – fol. 2r, line 2^{II}: אילו – the scribe's ink
- 4 – fol. 2r, line 2^I: horizontal stroke in ך – the scribe's ink
- 5 – fol. 2r, line 5^{II}: יועזר – the scribe's ink

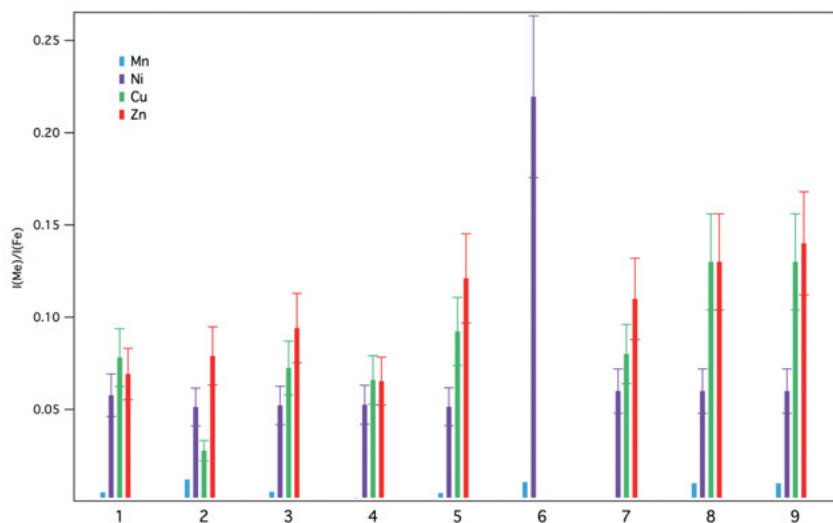


Diagram 2: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18 and 53: ink used by Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Laurentius Franguellus

- 1 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 20r, line 8^l: correction עעז on the erased part
- 2 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 20r, line 2^l: correction עעז on the erased part
- 3 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 19v, line 9^{ll}: correction עעז on the erased part
- 4 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 2r line 1 from bottom: note מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי ('Corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles')
- 5 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 19v, line 15^{ll}: correction עעז
- 6 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 237r: signature by Laurentius Franguellus
- 7 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 1r: note מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי ('Corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles')
- 8 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 58r^{ll}, line 15: correction on the erased part (ל at the end)
- 9 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 162r^{ll}, lines 9–10 from bottom: correction on the erased part.

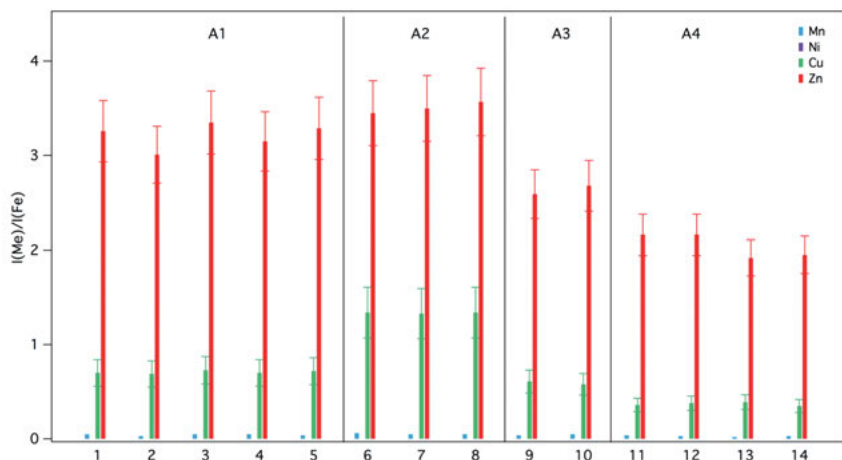


Diagram 3: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53: ink used by the scribe and the owner, 'Immanu'el

A1 – 'Immanu'el

- 1 – fol. 1r: note on purchase written by 'Immanu'el
- 2 – fol. 1r: ink used for the text
- 3 – fol. 2r: 'Immanu'el
- 4 – fol. 2r: text
- 5 – fol. 198v^I, final line: אמן

A2 – scribe 1

- 6 – fol. 120r: ink used by the scribe
- 7 – fol. 121v: catchword
- 8 – fol. 121v^I, line 1: letter ר

A3 – 'Immanu'el

- 9 – fol. 121v^{II} – dots on the initial letters of lines marking the name 'Immanu'el
- 10 – fol. 166v^{II} – dots on the initial letters of lines marking the name 'Immanu'el

A4 – scribe 2

- 11 – fol. 198v^I, line: על
- 12 – in the margin of fol. 166v^I: פרש
- 13 – fol. 125v^I, line 28: כ
- 14 – fol. 197r^{II}: dots on the initial letters of lines marking the name Yequiti'el

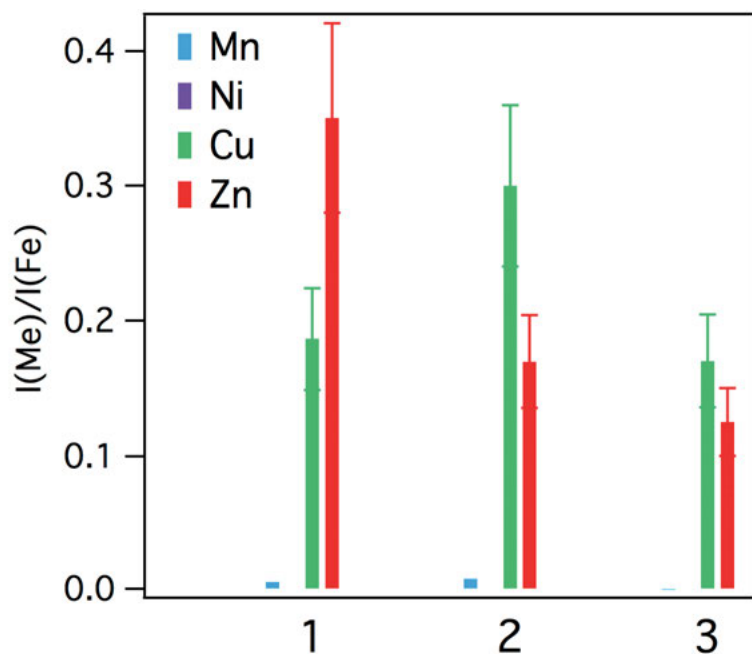


Diagram 4: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53: ink used for the censorship and note עיין

1 – fol. 18r, left-hand margin: note עיין ('see')

2 – fol. 120r^l, line 10: strike through where it says תנאף

3 – fol. 125v^l, third line from the bottom: strike through

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Ingrid Kaufmann

The *Pillars of Exile* by R. Yiṣḥaq of Corbeil: The *Small Book of Commandments* in Codex hebraicus 17, State and University Library Hamburg

Abstract: Cod. hebr. 17 contains an opulently decorated copy of *Sefer Miṣvot Qatan* (*SeMaQ*) and is a typical 14th-century Ashkenazic manuscript from the German area of Europe. This is shown by the workmanship of the parchment, the structure of the quires and the script that was used. The text also contains references to the German origin of the manuscript. The separate listing of the commandment ‘To bind *tefillin* on the head’ emphasises the practice among German Jews of saying two blessings while putting on their *tefillin*.

This manuscript is a commissioned work written and decorated by a professional scribe. Although he strived to give the book a homogeneous appearance overall, there is a radical change of page layout from fol. 227r onwards. By adding new columns, the existing comments became more visible. Consequently, *SeMaQ* now resembles a commentary volume inspired by Latin manuscripts. This change ‘modernised’ the book and improved its function, taking into account that the existing aesthetic concept had to be abandoned.

1 The *Small Book of Commandments* by Yiṣḥaq ben Yosef of Corbeil

1.1 Its origin, circulation, purpose and contents

Three years before he died, R. Yiṣḥaq ben Yosef of Corbeil (d. in 1280) wrote the halakhic work עמודי גולה (*Amude Gola*, or *Pillars of Exile*).¹ This book is an abridged and simplified version of the ספר מצות גדול (*Sefer Miṣvot Gadol*), i.e. the *Great Book of Commandments* written by Moshe ben Ya‘aqov of Coucy, which in turn was influenced by Maimonides’ *Mishne Tora*. Over the course of time, R. Yiṣḥaq’s work came to be known as סמ"ק (*SeMaQ*), an acronym standing for ספר מצות קטן

¹ Emanuel 2006, 198.

(*Sefer Mišvot Qatan*, the *Small Book of Commandments*), to distinguish it from the book written by Moshe of Coucy.² Unlike earlier works of this kind, *SeMaQ* does not contain a list of all 613 commandments found in Judaism, but only lists those that need to be followed in the Jewish diaspora. Since the commandments on sacrifices and cleanliness relating to worship at the Temple are no longer mentioned, *SeMaQ* only contains between 220 and 330 positive and negative commandments, depending on which copy of the manuscript one refers to.

Nowadays, around 230 manuscripts and fragments of *SeMaQ* can be found in libraries, archives and private collections around the world. In view of all the copies made of it, it has rightly been called a ‘mediaeval best-seller’.³ The wide success of his work was exactly what Yiṣḥaq of Corbeil had intended as he deliberately promoted *SeMaQ*. In writing such a book, he wanted to improve his fellow Jews’ knowledge of Halakha and strengthen their devout belief in God. Like R. Moshe of Coucy, R. Yiṣḥaq of Corbeil was also influenced by the *ḥaside ashkenaz*, i.e. the pietists who were active in Germany at the time. This is particularly clear in his notions of remorse and repentance, but can also be seen in his views on how Jews ought to behave towards Gentiles.⁴ R. Yiṣḥaq created a conservative work that was cleansed of elements that contrasted starkly with his notions of Halakha as a body of practical religious laws, or as Haym Soloveitchik writes:

[...] eliminating all dialectic and any Maimonidean traces, Rabbi Isaac penned the definitive handbook of French halakhic practice.⁵

Unlike its predecessor the *Great Book of Commandments* or Maimonides’ *Mishne Tora*, *SeMaQ* was not intended for a learned audience, but for a broader range of ‘middle-class’ readers that had developed in the 13th century – people who had received enough education to be able to understand simple halakhic texts, but who had not had the opportunity to study the Talmud and *tosafot* (mediaeval explanations and critical commentaries on the Talmud) in any great detail.⁶ The inclusion of Aggada texts and moral anecdotes was meant to capture the attention of less learned readers. In his open letter to the French and German commu-

² I shall largely refer to the more popular term *SeMaQ* in this paper, seeing as the title ‘*Amude Gola*’ is hardly used in practice, cf. Soloveitchik 2005, 41, n. 12.

³ As Judah D. Galinsky said in a lecture entitled ‘The Pillars of Exile (*Semak*) of R. Isaac of Corbeil – a Medieval Best Seller’ held at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University, in February 2011.

⁴ Kanarfogel 1997, 209.

⁵ Soloveitchik 1998, 75.

⁶ Galinsky 2009, minute 1:33:00 to 1:40:10.

nities, which is a standard part of many *SeMaQ* manuscripts these days, we learn what intentions R. Yiṣḥaq pursued with his work and about the unique way in which he went about promoting his book:⁷

Every leader of a synagogue in every town and city is commanded to make a written copy of these *mišvot* [...] and anyone who wishes to make a copy of it or learn from it is to be lent it [...].

And if a delegate [from another community] needs to stay in town for a while in order to copy the *mišvot*, they should pay him six small Turnose a day and provide him with board and lodging as well [...].⁸

R. Yiṣḥaq specifically addressed women in his open letter as well as men:

Accuracy when reading and studying them [the *mišvot*] is just as useful for them [i.e. women] as study is for men. [...].⁹

R. Yiṣḥaq's wishes regarding the circulation of *SeMaQ* were largely taken into account, particularly in Ashkenaz. In the German-speaking part of Europe, it was R. Me'ir of Rothenburg (d. in 1293) who helped disseminate the work. He told his students to write down everything that was 'true and enduring, correct and valid' in this book.¹⁰

It was R. Yiṣḥaq's wish that the texts in *SeMaQ* should be read and memorised every day. This objective also influenced the way he structured the book. R. Yiṣḥaq writes the following about this point:

Since our teachings are being forgotten in this day and age and I fear that most people today are unfamiliar with the explanations of the *mišvot* imposed upon us, I have written down the *mišvot* that are imposed upon us nowadays [in the form of] seven pillars corresponding to the seven days of the week. And I ask each and every person to read a pillar a day so they can profit from it [...].¹¹

There are further sub-divisions within the individual chapters, which vary from one chapter to the next. Various principles are used parallel to each other when it comes to ordering the subject matter: a distinction is generally made between all the commandments by putting the positive ones at the beginning of a chapter or passage, for example. This principle is not adhered to consistently, however.

⁷ Urbach 1980, 572–573.

⁸ Yiṣḥaq ben Yosef of Corbeil 1935. On the CD *Responsa Project*, Bar Ilan, 2007.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ Urbach 1980, 573 and Yiṣḥaq ben Yosef of Corbeil 1509, fol. 1v.

¹¹ Yiṣḥaq ben Yosef of Corbeil *Responsa Project*, 2007.

It was not just logical criteria that were paramount in structuring *SeMaQ*, but associations and feelings as well, albeit to a lesser extent. This can be seen in the way the author divided his work into meaningful units – not only do the seven chapters correspond to the days of the week, but they also represent the first six commandments of the Decalogue:

Sunday – *[First Commandment: ‘I am the Lord, thy God’]*¹²

Miṣvot on the heart

Miṣvot on the ears

Miṣvot on the eyes, including *miṣvot* on making clothes (emphasised)

Monday – *Second Commandment: ‘Thou shalt have no other gods before me’*

Miṣvot on the human body [as a whole]

Tuesday – *Third Commandment: ‘Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image’*

Miṣvot on the mouth (which include prohibiting magical spells, which are mostly said out loud)

Wednesday – *Fourth Commandment: ‘Remember the Shabbat day, to keep it holy’*

Miṣvot on the hands

Thursday – *Fifth Commandment: ‘Honour thy father and thy mother’*

Miṣvot on food (since one is morally obliged to feed one’s parents) and the rule on complying with the principles of law

Friday – *Sixth Commandment: ‘Thou shalt not kill’*

Miṣvot on money (since most murders occur because of money)

Saturday – (*Shabbat*)

[*Miṣvot* on Shabbat and sexuality]¹³

The structure of *SeMaQ* is rather difficult for readers to follow today. The commandments are not arranged as a list of topics based on subject areas, but on the human body and activities associated with its parts. The prohibitions concerning idolatry are not only found in the second chapter, for instance, which is about the

¹² Surtitles were not added to this chapter, but one may assume that the First Commandment is meant here on the basis of section 1 and the names of the other chapters.

¹³ A title at the top is also missing in this case.

human body as a whole, but appear throughout the work in the various chapters and sections of it relating to the specific part of the body being dealt with. In the first chapter, the following prohibitions are listed among the *mišvot* on the heart: ‘Not to *fear* the words of false prophets’ and ‘Not to *love* an instigator [who calls on people to believe in other gods]’. In the section on *mišvot* on the ears, it then says one should not *listen* to anything an instigator says, nor should one *listen* to anyone who prophesies in the name of an idol. In the section on the commandments on the eyes, there is a negative commandment about merely *looking at* graven images. In the section on the commandments on the human body in the second chapter, there is a ‘positive’ commandment that calls upon the reader to destroy any altars, memorials and instruments relating to idolatry. The negative commandments include setting up idols to worship, worshipping them and profiting from idolatry. The chapter ends with a prohibition on redeeming an instigator. In the third chapter, the commandments on the mouth include one that says not to *prophesy* in the name of an idol or *speak* in an instigator’s favour. What’s more, anyone who does speak out for an instigator should be *contradicted*. In the fourth chapter, which lists commandments on the hands, the reader is told not to *make* and *erect or set up* any statues or images.

SeMaQ was not designed to be used as a reference work, however; its structure is not a thematic one, but more of an ‘organic’, ‘corporeal’ one in nature. This kind of order may have served mediaeval readers as a sort of *aide mémoire* since the way in which the commandments have been associated with the human body makes them easier to visualise and recall. This type of imagery can be invoked even if you don’t happen to have a copy of the actual book at hand and only hear someone talking about the commandments.

1.2 The creation of different versions of *SeMaQ*

The brevity of the commandments and the absence of any named sources and explanations did not always make *SeMaQ* easy to follow. Very early on (possibly while R. Yišḥaq was still alive), a student of his called Pereš ben Eliyahu of Corbeil (d. between 1297 and 1299)¹⁴ consequently added some explanatory glosses to the work. These soon came to be regarded as an integral part of *SeMaQ* and are included in all but one of the manuscripts and printed editions of it that have survived. The oldest dated manuscript of *SeMaQ* is part of what is known as the *North French Hebrew Miscellany* (London, British Library, Add. 11639, fols 546v–

¹⁴ Richler 1979/80, 58.

640r) and was created in 1279/80 while R. Yiṣḥaq was still alive. This particular manuscript does not contain any notes by R. Pereš whatsoever and has considerably fewer commandments in it than later editions of the work do. R. Yiṣḥaq's open letter, which was added to many editions of *SeMaQ*, is not included in it either. However, this version of the *North French Hebrew Miscellany* corresponds to many of the later codices in terms of its structure.

Minor differences started appearing in the manuscripts very early on and are not only due to copyists' mistakes. These early inconsistencies may, in fact, have something to do with the way in which *SeMaQ* was transmitted. In his open letter, R. Yiṣḥaq explicitly warned the reader not to teach directly from his book without taking a critical look at the texts in question first.¹⁵ These words of caution reveal that he assumed his work was also going to be used for the purpose of oral instruction. It is also possible that his student R. Pereš taught a group of his own students using the book and added comments on the text, thus creating slightly different copies of it as his teaching evolved.

As Israel Ta-Shema has pointed out, in the Middle Ages, Hebrew books were not regarded as finished products by their authors, but were merely felt to represent the interim state of their findings and opinions at the time of writing.¹⁶

I have noticed that the first chapter of *SeMaQ* hardly varies at all from one copy to the next. It may have been that this first part was thought to be completely finished and was therefore used as an 'authorised' booklet by itself, as it were, whereas the subsequent parts, which the students of Jewish scholars were already familiar with, were still in the process of being finalised.

The rare dated manuscripts of *SeMaQ* from the 13th century that have managed to survive along with the manuscripts included in the *North French Hebrew Miscellany* were much longer than the latter. Different versions of *SeMaQ* started to appear quite early and were copied independently of one another during the 14th century, producing even more variations on the theme. While the version of *SeMaQ* that is included in the *North French Hebrew Miscellany* and most other manuscripts ends with a negative commandment on sexuality (שלא לבא על אשה), additional prohibitions concerning sexuality and the sexual partners one may not have were added to some manuscripts. The contents added to *SeMaQ* caused the work to grow in size, but this expansion did not take place linearly over the course of time; rather, it seems that various exemplars of it with differing contents were made at a very early stage – differences in the order in which the positive and

¹⁵ Spiegel 2005, 45.

¹⁶ Ta-Shema 1993, 17. See Beit-Arié 1993, 50–51 as well.

negative commandments were written are apparent in copies of *SeMaQ* from as early as the 13th century. One such example is a manuscript now kept at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), which must have been produced at the turn of the 13th century judging from its codicological features.¹⁷

One of the characteristic features that many *SeMaQ* manuscripts have is that they contain comments and notes. These also differ widely from copy to copy. When the Jerusalem-born scholar R. Ḥayyim Yosef David Azulai undertook a journey through Europe in the 18th century, he had the opportunity to look at various *SeMaQ* manuscripts while he was travelling. He noticed that the Ashkenazic manuscripts in particular contained glosses that were unique, having no equivalent in any of the other manuscripts.¹⁸ A manuscript known as the *Zurich SeMaQ* (הסמ"ק מצוריד) contains a particularly large number of comments. This work was compiled in Zurich in the first half of the 14th century, and around 15 copies of it still exist today. R. Moshe of Zurich quoted from the Talmudim in it, added whole passages of text from *Sefer Mišvot Gadol* by Moshe of Coucy, drew on mediaeval authorities like R. Yiṣḥaq ben Ya'aqov Alfasi (1013–1103) and Rashi (R. Shlomo ben Yiṣḥaq, 1040–1105), and also drew on more recent works such as those by Mordekhai ben Hillel ha-Cohen (1240?–1298), the *Tashbeṣ* by Shmshon ben Šadoq and the halakhic compendium *Sefer Kol Bo* (which literally means 'everything [is] in it'), written at the turn of the 13th century. The commandments listed in many manuscripts of the *Zurich SeMaQ* also vary slightly in terms of their order. For example, לקדש השם ('Sanctifying God's name') and לידבק בשם ('Cleaving to the name of God'), both of which usually appear in chapter 2, precede it here and even take up a prominent position in the first chapter.¹⁹

In 1509, the first printed edition appeared in Constantinople bearing the title *Sefer 'Amude Gola*, and in 1556 another edition was published in Cremona, which

¹⁷ Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Hebr. Add. 6.

¹⁸ Azulai, Ḥayyim Yosef David 1843, 204.

¹⁹ They form the sixth and seventh commandment respectively in the work. I know of the following examples that are in this order: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (Preußischer Kulturbesitz) Ms. or. quart. 3; London, British Library Add. 18684; Parma, Biblioteca Palatina Cod. Parm. 3158; Oxford, Bodleian Library Opp. 341 and Opp. Add. fol. 40. Besides these, the Hamburg *SeMaQ* manuscript known as Cod. hebr. 89 also follows this order. In my essay (Kaufmann 2011, 53), I have denied the claim that Cod. hebr. 89 is a *Zurich SeMaQ*. A careful look at the manuscript has shown that it may actually be a defective copy of one. Since the edges of the book have been trimmed very closely, one can hardly tell if the glosses that R. Moses of Zurich once added are all there. A few remnants of his glosses are faintly visible at the edges of some of the leaves, but that is all. If the date stated in the bill of divorce (1343) can be believed, this manuscript could possibly be the oldest surviving copy of the *Zurich SeMaQ* of its kind. A closer examination of it is definitely called for if that is the case.

contained individual glosses written by R. Moshe of Zurich. *SeMaQ* started to lose some of its influence when the *Shulkhan Aruch* was printed, however (Venice, 1565). Admittedly, the Cremona edition was reprinted again and again, but even so, it did not circulate as widely as *SeMaQ* had done in the Middle Ages.

1.3 The current state of research

The version of *SeMaQ* that Yiṣḥaq of Corbeil originally wrote has been used as a primary source of knowledge on the history of mediaeval Jewish mentality and law ever since the 19th century. Moritz Güdemann found clues in *SeMaQ* about the life and ethical thinking of mediaeval Jews, for example.²⁰

Even now, *SeMaQ* is still an important source of information to researchers interested in the history of Halakha and the mystical world of the Ashkenazic community. Ephraim Kanarfogel has demonstrated that *SeMaQ* was influenced by the pietistic thinking of the *ḥaside ashkenaz*.²¹ The *Zurich SeMaQ*, which was printed for the very first time in 1973,²² caught the attention of academic researchers soon after and came to be cited in papers on the subject of voluntary martyrdom in Ashkenaz written by Haym Soloveitchik,²³ David Malkiel²⁴ and Abraham Gross.²⁵ These studies would hardly have been undertaken if Ephraim Urbach's book on the Tosafists had not appeared in 1955 and then become a standard reference work. He presented *SeMaQ* in its contemporary intellectual context and provided an outline of its contents and purpose.²⁶ Since Urbach's book only covers the Tosafist period up to the end of the 13th century, the subsequent development of *SeMaQ* manuscripts only received marginal treatment.²⁷

Israel Ta-Shema, who wrote the article about Yiṣḥaq of Corbeil in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*,²⁸ was a scholar who was highly familiar with *SeMaQ*, a fact that is also apparent in his introduction to the new edition of קיצור הסמ"ג (*Qišsur*

20 Güdemann 1880, 80–91.

21 Kanarfogel 1997 and Kanarfogel 2000, 81–92.

22 Har-Shoshanim-Rosenberg 1980–1988.

23 Soloveitchik 1987 and Soloveitchik 2004.

24 Malkiel 2001.

25 Gross 2004.

26 Urbach 1980, 571–575.

27 Urbach 1980 574–575; see Ta-Shema 2004, 17 on this point.

28 Ta-Shema 2007.

Sefer Mišvot Gadol).²⁹ However, he did not write anything that specifically focused on *SeMaQ*.

Ta-Shema's investigations of Tosafist book culture were continued by Simcha Emanuel, who also took a close look at the decisions made by R. Yiṣḥaq and R. Pereš of Corbeil, thereby taking individual *SeMaQ* manuscripts into account.³⁰ In an essay published in 2012/13, Emanuel partly addressed changes to the language used in the work, which copyists had made as they copied *SeMaQ*.³¹

One scholar who has looked at *SeMaQ* and its mediaeval readership in particular detail is Judah D. Galinsky. He has focused on it repeatedly in the many talks and lectures he has held in recent years: at the World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem in 2009,³² at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 2011³³ and at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in 2013, for example.³⁴

Very few *SeMaQ* manuscripts have been designed in an artistic way, which is why practically no studies of it have been conducted by art historians so far. Sarit Shalev-Eyni's study of Jewish book illumination in the region around Lake Constance is an exception to this rule.³⁵ In her investigation, she shows that Jews and Christians must have worked together closely to create Hebrew manuscripts of artistic value. To illustrate this point, the author presents a *SeMaQ* manuscript that is now kept in Vienna,³⁶ the illuminations of which bear a close stylistic similarity to book illumination in the Gothic *Gradual of St Katharinental* which was produced in this Dominican nunnery in Switzerland.

2 Codex hebraicus 17

2.1 Date and place of completion

According to the information in the colophon on fol. 279r, the manuscript was completed on 14 *marḥeshwan* 5078 (21 October 1317) for R. Yehuda, son of

²⁹ Abridged version of *SeMaG* by R. Avraham bar Efrayim, Ta-Shema 2004.

³⁰ Emanuel 2006, 198–205.

³¹ Emanuel 2012/2013, 444–445.

³² Galinsky 2009.

³³ Galinsky 2012.

³⁴ Freud Kandel/Ferziger 2013.

³⁵ Shalev-Eyni 2010.

³⁶ Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Hebr. 75.

R. Avraham, the scholar (Fig. 1).³⁷ Although the colophon gives no indication of where the text was written, the sample form for the divorce document, or גט (*get*), on fol. 218r does provide some information which helps us to localise the manuscript: כאן בוורמשא מתא דיתא על נהר ריניוס ('Here in Worms on the River Rhine'). The divorce document is dated 25 av 5077 (12 August 1317).

The place names and dates mentioned in the divorce documents which are attached to *SeMaQ* manuscripts should be treated with caution, however: the date marked by the scribe in a completed copy was not necessarily the current date, just as the place of copying was not always his home town. Divorce documents of older manuscripts were often included along with the dates and place names stated in them. This is especially true in cases where the documents were deliberately not modified out of respect for a person of authority. The mention of a place name such as Corbeil or Paris is therefore of little use with regard to localising a manuscript. Since there are only two months between the date of the divorce document and the completion date in Cod. hebr. 17, though, it is reasonable to assume that the date entered by the scribe was, in fact, the current date and that he had close connections to the town of Worms.

2.2 Codicology and palaeography

The multiple-text manuscript contains 20 leaves and comprises four sections: a prayer book, an anonymous commentary on the festival prayers and a table of contents of the two subsequent works – *SeMaQ* by R. Yiṣḥaq ben Yosef of Corbeil and *Tashbeṣ* by Shimshon ben Ṣadoq.

The layout was planned from the outset, as can be seen by the quire structure, since the quires do not separate the individual texts from one another.

- Quire 1 (fols 1–4) = binion (prayers)
- Quires 2–23 (fols 5–181) = 22 quaternions (prayers up to fol. 5r, commentary on a prayer on fols 5v–178v, table of contents of *SeMaQ* starting on fol. 179r)
- Quire 24 (fols 182–186) = binion with a single leaf attached to the front (table of contents of *SeMaQ* up to fol. 182v, table of contents of *Tashbeṣ* on fols 182v–185r)
- Quires 25–35 (fols 187–274) = 11 quaternions (*SeMaQ* fols 187r–260v, *Tashbeṣ* from fol. 260v onwards)
- Quire 36 (fols 275–280) = ternion (*Tashbeṣ* up to fol. 279r, colophon on fol. 279r).

³⁷ For descriptions of the manuscript see Steinschneider 1878, 56–58; Wandrey 2014.

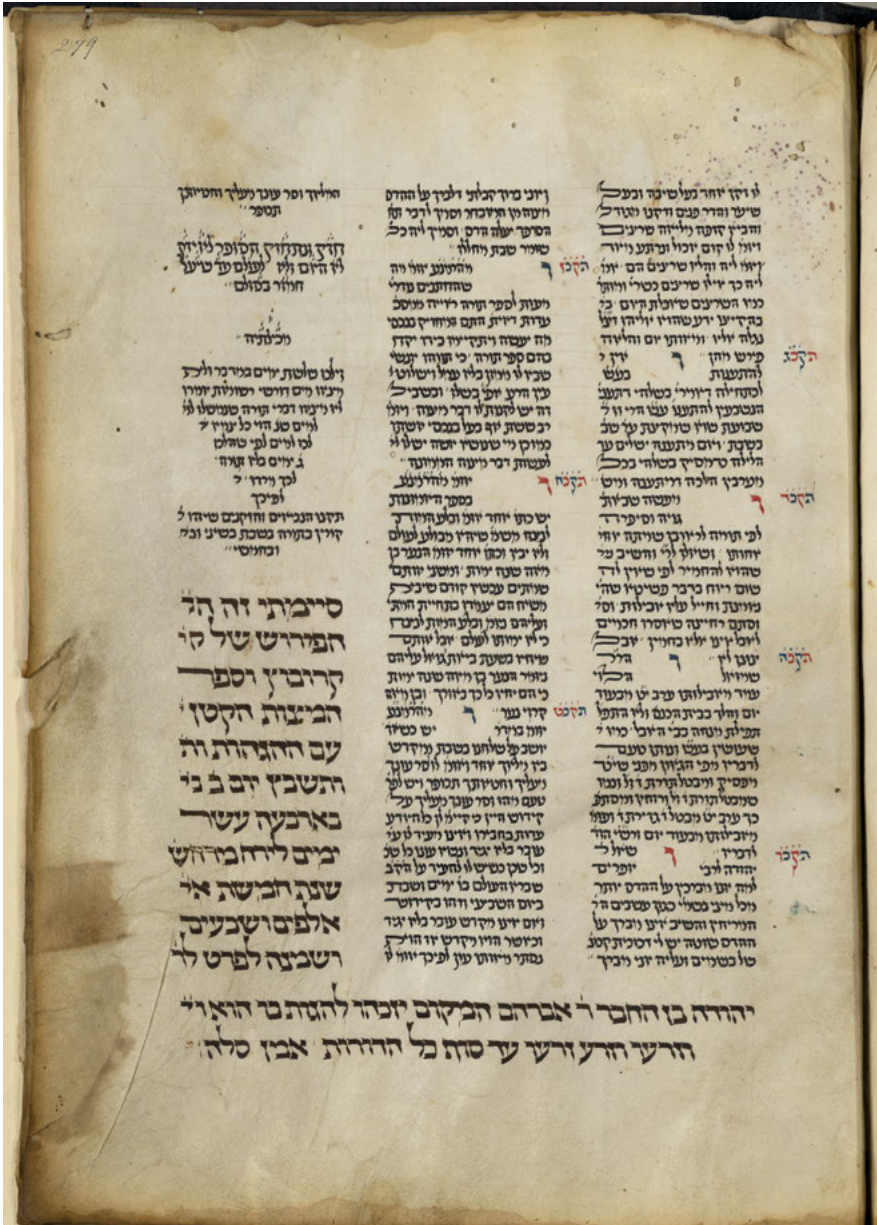


Fig. 1: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 17, fol. 279r, colophon written in square script in the left column and at the bottom of the page, © All images State and University Library Hamburg.

The manuscript, which contains 36 quires altogether, originally consisted exclusively of quaternions. Apart from the first and last quire, where the quaternions have been reduced through wear and tear, the 24th quire is also noteworthy. The leaves from fols 185v to 186v are completely blank and, unlike the ends of the other quires, no catchword has been written. This indicates that individual leaves were removed after the work was completed.

The parchment used to write the copy is so finely scraped that it is impossible to distinguish between the hair side and the flesh side; this was a common feature of Hebrew manuscripts produced in Ashkenaz during the last third of the 13th century and later.³⁸ The prick marks denoting the lineation are visible on the outer and inner edges – a technique also found in Ashkenaz around the same period.³⁹

The design of the book is homogenous throughout with generous margins allowed on every page. The written space on each page measures 21.8 × 16.3 cm and the texts are arranged in three columns with 44 lines each. The basic layout does not even vary where further columns have been added. Several methods have been used to prevent the text from running into the left-hand margin, with the preferred technique being to abbreviate or lengthen certain words.

The main text is copied in Ashkenazic semi-cursive script, while the title and the initial words are written in square script. The entire script has a markedly Gothic design and is reminiscent of Latin codices from the same era. The Ashkenazic semi-cursive script, which had emerged as early as the second half of the 12th century,⁴⁰ became increasingly Gothic in appearance in Ashkenaz, and by the end of the 13th century it practically mirrored the typography of Latin Gothic codices.⁴¹

The catchwords occur on the last versos of the quires and are written in the bottom left-hand corner of the page. They are highlighted by the use of small drawings made of dashes and written in ink. Some of them take on the shape of geometric figures such as triangles, but specific motifs such as French lilies (fol. 194v) are rarely detectable.

2.3 *SeMaQ* as a component of multiple-text manuscripts

Yişḥaq of Corbeil's work covers leaves 179 to 260, beginning with the tables of contents of *SeMaQ* (fols 179r to 182v) and *Tashbeş*. Since the table of contents

³⁸ Beit-Arié 2012, 18.

³⁹ Beit-Arié 2003, 20.

⁴⁰ Sirat 2002, 197.

⁴¹ Sirat 2013, 221.

of *SeMaQ* starts in the middle of the 23rd quire, it is clear that the copy of Yiṣḥaq of Corbeil's book was planned not as a codex in its own right, but as part of a multiple-text manuscript.

The introduction to the first printed edition published in Constantinople in 1509 offers an explanation of why *SeMaQ* was merged with a prayer book so early on: 'When the people in France saw his [R. Yiṣḥaq of Corbeil's] humility and devotion, they wrote these *mišvot* in their *siddurim* in order to [be able to] recite them day after day.'⁴²

Copying *SeMaQ* into a prayer book was referred to by Colette Sirat in conjunction with the manuscript Cod. hebr. 643 – which is kept at the French National Library in Paris – as a typical French phenomenon.⁴³ However, there are also several examples in the German-speaking world where the *Small Book of Commandments* has been copied together with a prayer book.⁴⁴

2.4 Content

The copy of *SeMaQ* contained in Cod. hebr. 17 is complete and comprises 292 positive and negative commandments.⁴⁵ The first *mišva*, לידע שאתו שברא שמים וארץ הוא לבדו (‘To know that He who created Heaven and Earth also rules over all things’), is written on fol. 187r, while the prohibition on fol. 259v – שלא לבא על אשה נידה (‘Not to have intercourse with a woman in her menstrual period’) marks the end of *SeMaQ*.

In the colophon, the scribe explicitly points out that he copied the *Small Book of Commandments* along with all its commentaries. The commentaries by R. Pereš of Corbeil are integrated into the main text right from the beginning and are introduced by the abbreviation מרפ"א = מורנו רבנו פרץ [בן] אליהו (‘our teacher and R. Pereš [ben] Eliya’).⁴⁶ The arrangement changes from fol. 227r onwards: R. Pereš' commentaries are no longer woven into the main text, but form sepa-

⁴² Yiṣḥaq ben Yosef of Corbeil 1509, fol. 1r, translation by author.

⁴³ This exceptionally richly illustrated manuscript from the early 14th century also contains a *Tashbeš* like the Hamburg codex, Sirat 1997, 245.

⁴⁴ One example is the manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 75, dated by Sarit Shalev-Eyni to 1312–1322 and ascribed on the basis of the illuminations to the area around Lake Constance; Shalev-Eyni 2010.

⁴⁵ Although the manuscript ends with the paragraph number 290, this figure corresponds to the number of positive and negative commandments written in the copy and also to the table of contents.

⁴⁶ For example, on fol. 192r and fol. 193r.

rate columns.⁴⁷ This leads to a radical change in the previous layout of the book, which was uniform. The commentaries by R. Pereš are written in a smaller script and henceforth form sub-columns within the existing columns. Instead of the previous three columns, there are now up to nine on each page, as illustrated by fol. 234r. Whether the scribe made this change at the behest of the person who commissioned the manuscript or because he had access to a further master copy is unclear.

From the second chapter onwards, the manuscript shows some slight discrepancies compared to most other *SeMaQ* versions in terms of the order in which the commandments are listed. The first *mišvot* written in chapter two are numbers 44 to 50. The *mišvot* ‘Mourn for Jerusalem’, ‘Mourn for relatives’, ‘Clean out the leaven [on Passover]’, ‘Not to be alone with women [at a place]’, ‘Not to be alone with non-Jews [at a place]’, ‘That a woman shall not nurse the child of a non-Jewish woman’, ‘That a woman shall not deliver the child of a non-Jewish woman’ come directly after ‘To hallow God’s name’ and ‘Not to profane God’s name’, whereas they appear at the end of the chapter in the print versions⁴⁸ as well as in the majority of other *SeMaQ* manuscripts. These are rabbinic decrees rather than the biblical laws of the Tora, which was explicitly emphasised as early as 1279/80: ‘[here] end the time-bound *mišvot* of the Tora, and the *mišvot* of the body commence, which were instituted by the rabbis.’⁴⁹ These categories or classifications were not only violated in the Hamburg manuscript. The same discrepancy with regard to the classification of the *mišvot* is found in a number of other *SeMaQ* manuscripts besides Cod. hebr. 17.⁵⁰

Another difference is the commandment listed in section 148 (fol. 211v), להניח תפילין של ראש (‘To put *tefillin* on the head’). In the print editions and in other manuscripts, this commandment is not listed separately, but is subsumed under the commandment לקשור תפילין של יד (‘To put *tefillin* on the arm’).⁵¹ There are at least three other Ashkenazic manuscripts where ‘To put *tefillin* on the head’ is

⁴⁷ Steinschneider overlooked the commentaries by R. Pereš in the text, Steinschneider 1878, 58.

⁴⁸ The reference pertains to the print edition on which the version featured in the Responsa Project at the Bar-Ilan University (<http://www.responsa.co.il>) is based; Yiṣḥaq ben Yosef of Corbeil 1935.

⁴⁹ Yiṣḥaq ben Yosef of Corbeil 2003, fol. 559v.

⁵⁰ I am familiar with the following examples: London, David Sofer, Lon Sofer 7 (13th–14th century); London, British Library, Add. 18828 (1343); London, British Library, Add. 18685 (1301–1350); Zurich, Braginsky Collection, Brag 115 (14th–15th century); Vatican Library, Vat. ebr. 324 (1395–1398).

⁵¹ In Cod. hebr. 17, section 147.

listed separately.⁵² This presumably reflects an old rabbinic conflict regarding the number of blessings to be recited while putting on tefillin.⁵³ German Jews in the Middle Ages, such as R. Me'ir of Rothenburg, observed the custom of reciting one blessing while binding the head *tefillin* and a second one while binding the arm *tefillin*, whilst French Jews only recited one blessing for both. According to Shemu'el of Evreux, who was one of Yiṣḥaq of Corbeil's teachers, it was better to say only one blessing to avoid the risk of sinning by reciting an unnecessary blessing. This issue was also the subject of a response by R. Asher ben Yeḥi'el (Rabbenu Asher or simply Rosh, 1250–1327) from the Rhineland, who had originally said only one blessing under the French influence, but later switched to the practice common in Germany.⁵⁴ This was thus a question which still continued to spark rich discussions at the start of the 14th century. The fact that the commandment 'To bind *tefillin* on the head' is highlighted in some *SeMaQ* manuscripts may have therefore served to emphasise the German custom of saying two blessings.

2.5 Book decoration

Cod. hebr. 17 is one of the rare examples of a lavishly decorated *SeMaQ* codex.⁵⁵ Red and blue ink was employed consistently for the decorative elements. The scribe wrote the initial words and the numbers of the individual *mišvot* in alternating red and blue ink and introduced a change of colour within some of the initials. Fine decorative components have been added carefully in red and blue ink, reminiscent of the *fleuronnée* (floreted) ornamentation common to monastic book illustration and also used in secular codices.⁵⁶

A small error in the numbering of the individual paragraphs provides an insight into the scribe's method of working. There are two numbers missing on fol. 191r (Fig. 2). At this point, the *mišvot* שלא להסתכל בצלמים ('Not to look at idols'), להסתכל בציצת ('To look at *ṣiṣit*') and שלא לתור אחר העין ('Not to follow whatever unfaithfulness your eyes may see') are written very close together and only the

⁵² Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Hebr. Add. 6; London, British Library, Add. 18685; Zurich, Braginsky Collection, Brag 115.

⁵³ Cf. Amit 2008.

⁵⁴ Meshullam Salman ben Aharon 1761, 41.

⁵⁵ Some striking examples are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. hebr. 643; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Heb. 75; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Seld. A51.

⁵⁶ For example, in the second part of St Gall, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, VadSlg Ms. 302 (Rudolf von Ems: History of the World. The Stricker, Charlemagne), originated c. 1300 in Zurich.

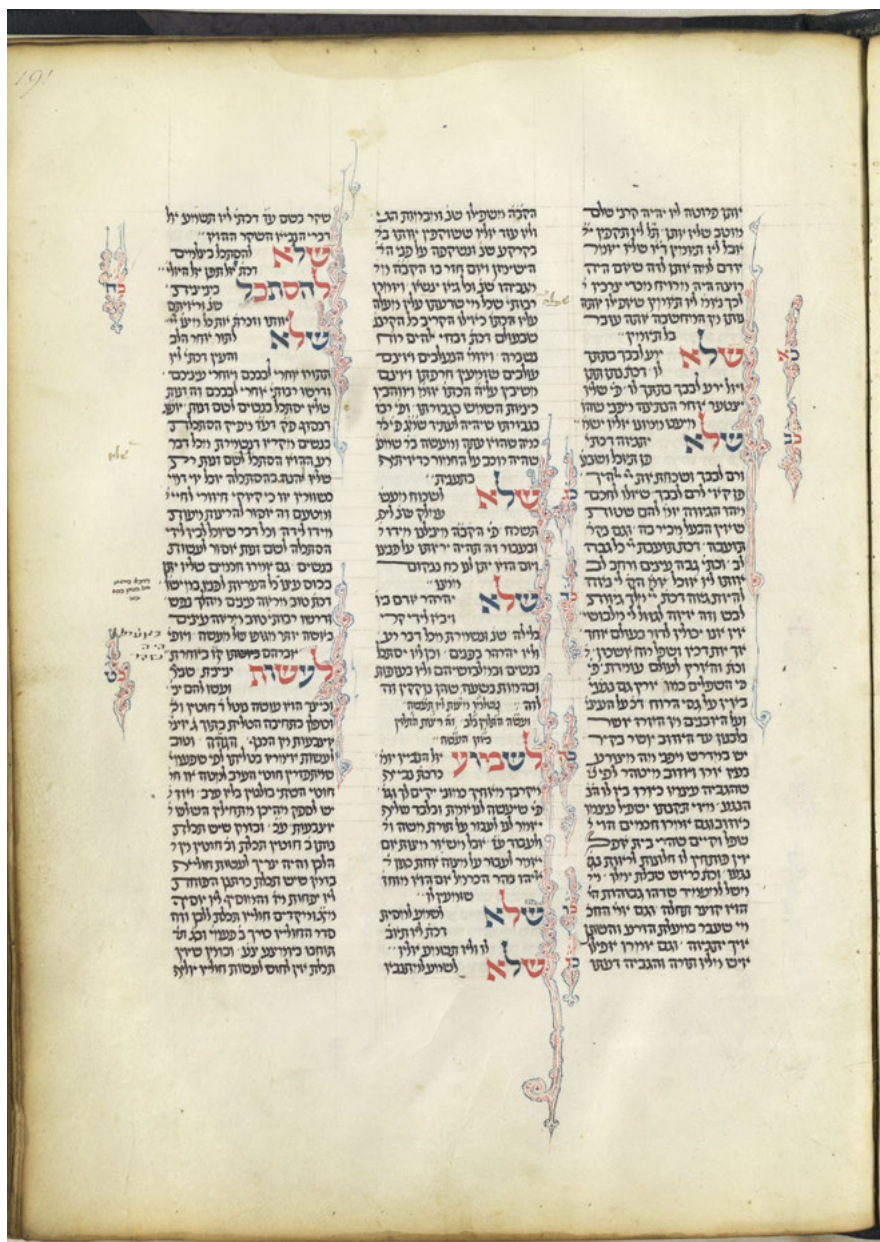


Fig. 2: Hamburg, SUB, Cod. hebr. 17, fol. 191r.

prohibition in the middle has been numbered. This error presumably occurred due to the fact that the scribe wrote the main text first, leaving blank spaces to add the initial words later in coloured ink. It is likely that he then added the numbering and finished by writing the initial words. A large blank space was left for the initial words of the three *mišvot* on fol. 191r, causing the text to run into the right margin. This made it difficult to identify the start of each separate *mišva*, with the result that two of them were overlooked by the scribe when he added the numbering.

While *fleuronnée* ornamentation is predominantly found in the inner panels of the initial words in Latin manuscripts, the initials in this example are surrounded by floral patterns springing forth from a vine tendril decorated with palmette motifs. Unbound by the corpus of any letters, the strands are embellished with circular lobed leaves and sprawl forth between the words. They form forked tendrils and intertwine to construct tangled shapes which clamber up and down the edges of the right-hand columns. At the top, the strands taper off in hook-shaped twists, while the lower end is often delineated by a palmette motif with curved leaves. The strands at the edges bear half-palmettes and create a very vibrant quality, but overall the repertoire of shapes and motifs is relatively limited and is repeated over and over again.

The vegetal patterns do not display any kind of geometric design and they are completely lacking in symmetry. This disrupts the austerity of the page layout and adds a certain degree of airiness. The ornamentation does not contain any figurative or even narrative elements, and references to the text are not immediately identifiable. Likewise, there does not appear to have been any specific system for adding or omitting decorative elements. The decoration stops in the middle of the 25th quire (fol. 192r), and is picked up again within the 30th quire (fol. 235r). The 32nd quire only contains one final embellishment (fol. 250r) and the last ten leaves of *SeMaQ* are unadorned.

The very first initial word of *SeMaQ* – לידע ('To know that...') – appears in slightly larger square script than the rest of the text and is ornamented in a particularly lavish way (Fig. 3). Finely drawn red-blue tendrils blaze out amidst the letters and tower upwards to form seven pillars, presumably an allusion to the name and content of the work, which is divided into seven 'pillars' (chapters) corresponding to the seven days of the week. Interestingly, the beginning of the other chapters is not emphasised by the use of decorative elements; they are only recognisable by the fact that the final sentence of the preceding chapter is always written in smaller script.

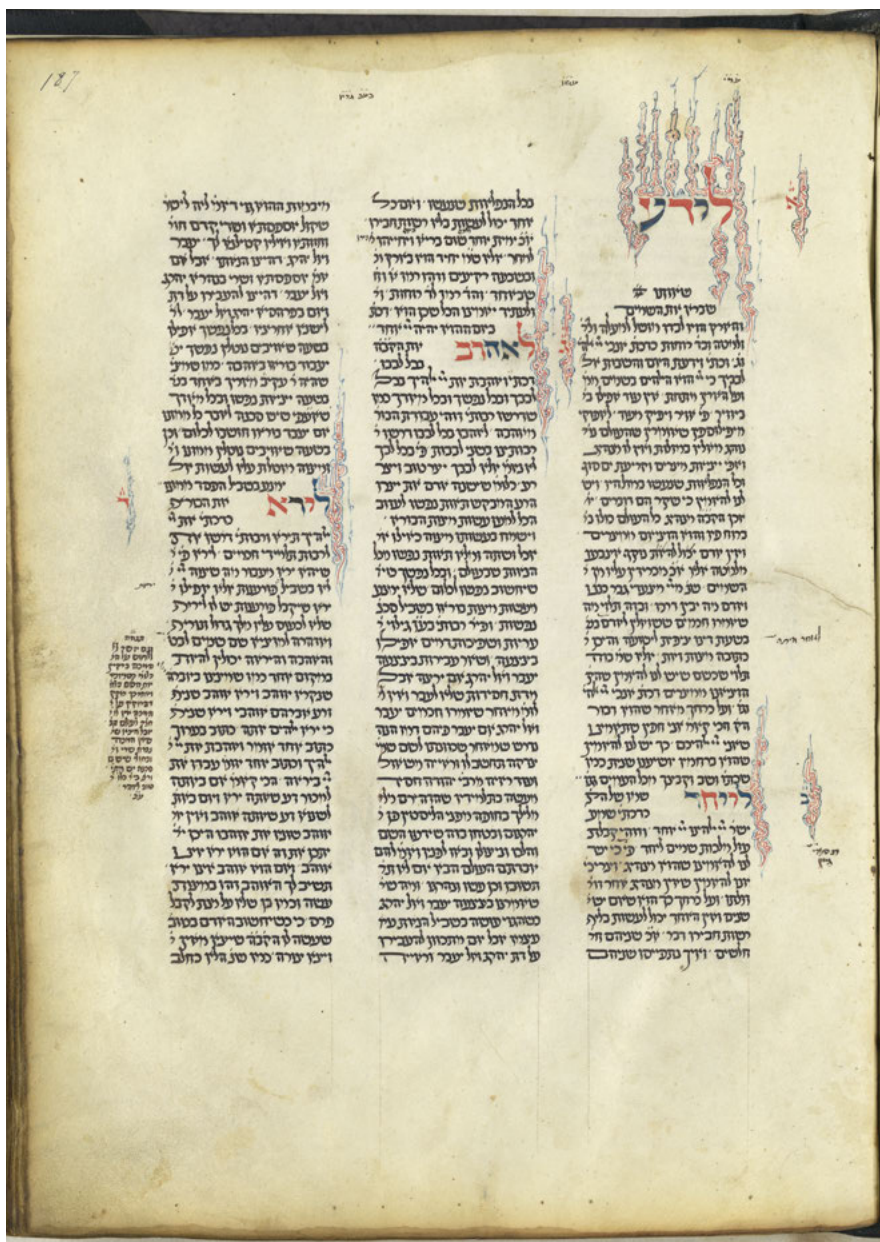


Fig. 3: Hamburg, SUB, Cod. hebr. 17, fol. 187r.

The *fleuronnée* ornamentation found in Ashkenazic manuscripts of the 14th century was first discussed in 1987 by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna.⁵⁷ She pointed out how the ornamentation of Jewish books was influenced by the Christian cultural heritage, but believed that the books were nevertheless decorated predominantly by Jewish artists. According to her, the visual layout of a commentary on the Talmud dated 1372/73 (Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Ms. fol. hebr. 1) was entirely the product of the Jewish scribe's creativity.⁵⁸ The evidence we have today suggests that Jewish books were often illuminated in Christian workshops, however. It has been proven that a number of different florators worked on the above-mentioned Talmud commentary, for instance.⁵⁹ In contrast to the very professionally designed floreted panels found in other Hebrew manuscripts, we can assume that the decorations in Cod. hebr. 17 were either added by the scribe himself or at least by someone in his immediate environment, since the limited repertoire of shapes and absence of any form of geometric design is not typical of the style common to the professional workshops of the era.

3 Conclusion

Cod. hebr. 17 is a distinctly Ashkenazic manuscript from a German region. The way in which the parchment is processed, the quire structure and the script are typically Ashkenazic. The reference to the city of Worms in the divorce document helps us to narrow down the possible provenance of the manuscript. The text of *SeMaQ* contains further pointers to the manuscript's German origin: the fact that the commandment 'to bind *tefillin* on the head' is listed separately reflects the practice customary among German Jews of saying two blessings when putting on *tefillin*.

On account of its splendid design, the *SeMaQ* copy in Cod. hebr. 17 belongs to the rare breed of *SeMaQ* manuscripts that are richly decorated. Another point that is particularly striking in this copy is the sudden change in how the glosses and commentaries by R. Pereš are displayed; exactly why the scribe made this change is unclear. The decorations were either added by the scribe himself or by someone in his immediate environment. He was allowed a certain amount of freedom by R. Yehuda, son of the scholar R. Avraham, who commissioned the manuscript. The result is a prestigious manuscript which in terms of its artistic quality can easily compete with the codices decorated in professional workshops.

⁵⁷ Sed-Rajna 1987.

⁵⁸ Sed-Rajna 1987, 54.

⁵⁹ Fingernagel/Haidinger 2002, 17.

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Katrin Kogman-Appel

Pictorial Messages in Mediaeval Illuminated Hebrew Books: Some Methodological Considerations

Abstract: The three-way relationship between patrons, artists, and viewers poses some crucial methodological questions that have been considered repeatedly and intensely in the recent art-historical discourse on illuminated manuscripts. If we are to decipher meanings or explicit messages of images correctly, we ought to attend first to the question of who would have determined these meanings and messages and who would have designed the overall appearance of the images and their specific features. An artistic mind aware of the full potential of the impact the visual has on any given viewer's perception, perhaps? Or a patron with a particular theological or political agenda? To whom would such messages have been addressed? Would the potential addressees only have been erudite viewers or might they have been uneducated individuals as well? Art can function as an active message bearer on the one hand or as a more passive reflector of social and cultural circumstances on the other. This paper discusses several test cases and views them in the light of recent methodological considerations in the field. It revisits a few themes that I have discussed on various occasions in the past and attempts to put them into a methodological framework that centers around two core issues: first, the three-way relationship between the patron, the artist (or rather, the illuminator), and the viewer; and second, the hierarchy of the textual and the visual when it comes to integrating works of art in the complex fabric of cultural and social life.

For some years now, scholarship in the field of mediaeval art in general and book illumination in particular has been concerned with the three-way relationship between patrons, artists, and 'viewers,' the last being the consumers of art objects, so to speak. If we are to decipher the meanings or explicit messages of images, we should know who would have determined these meanings and messages within this triangle and who would have designed the overall appearance of these images and their specific features. Was it an artistic mind aware of the full potential of the impact the visual has on any given viewer's perception? A patron with a particular theological or political agenda? To whom would such messages have been addressed? Would the potential addressees be only erudite viewers or might they have been uneducated individuals as well?

Patronage and patrons' agendas have influenced any number of projects in art history since the late 1970s. An early example of this trend was a collective volume about patronage in English mediaeval art by Macready and Thompson.¹ In more recent years, questions of patronage have also begun to interest scholars of Hebrew manuscripts.² Any pictorial rendering of a religious myth or an idea can function either as an active message-bearer or as a more passive reflector of social and cultural circumstances. Recent scholarship has regarded the patron not only as the paying commissioner (often perhaps with a political agenda), but as an agent with a crucial function in both the making of an artwork and its life within the community that views it.³

In what follows, I shall briefly revisit a few topics that I have discussed on various occasions in the past and attempt to put them into a methodological framework that centers around two core issues: first, the three-way relationship between the patron, the artist (or rather, the illuminator), and the viewer; and second, the hierarchy of the textual and the visual when it comes to integrating works of art in the complex fabrics of cultural and social life. I summarize my examples very briefly and focus on their relevance to these points. Even though these issues relate to art-historical methods in general in relation to a broader cultural framework, I make a special case for book art, which has suffered from a painful detachment from its immediate material context for too long: the book. I discuss books and their broader cultural and social contexts with a focus on the role they played in mediaeval societies. The following paragraphs are designed to provide a general sketch of the *status quaestionis* of the study of book art in relation to patronage within the mediaeval Jewish context, but points out *desiderata* and open questions as well.

First of all, we should address the question of how far we may assume that what we now call mediaeval 'art' (a term that can only be detached from modern and postmodern connotations of art with difficulty)⁴ could or could not have functioned as a message-bearer. The historiography of mediaeval art has occasionally been subject to criticism, especially in recent discourse, when claims have been made that iconographic research is overly occupied with dealing with art's communicative qualities by means of messages in an almost verbal sense. This critical direction was also pursued recently in relation to mediaeval Haggadot.⁵ Traditional art history, however, leaves more questions open than that of the obviously ambiguous boundaries between text and image: Whose messages

1 Macready/Thompson 1986.

2 Kogman-Appel 2006, chap. 7.

3 Caskey 2006.

4 See, for example, Hughes 2006.

5 Epstein 2010, introduction.

are we dealing with? To whom were and are these messages addressed? These are questions with which art historians are very familiar one way or another.

The notion of art as a means of communication at levels that not only have to do with the transmission of an eloquently formulated message has dominated art-historical research since the 1960s. Around the same time, book history took its own turn toward a broader interpretation of the place the book and its use occupied in society, a point I shall return to later on.⁶ Other open questions concern patronage. What exactly was a patron? An individual who commissioned a work of art and paid for it? Or, rather, a person who also determined the appearance of a work of art? Both? What role did patrons play in determining imageries?⁷ In other words, what were the mediaeval artist's competences? These are not necessarily new questions, but the means of approaching them are constantly changing and developing. Once art historians began to rethink the conventional methodologies of their traditional discipline and noted that deciphering 'meaning in the visual arts', to cite the title of the famous manifesto by Erwin Panofsky,⁸ is a means rather than a goal, reflections on the role of art as a message-bearer took on new directions.

Let us approach my first example with this potential, yet ambiguously defined, capacity of mediaeval art to be a message-bearer in mind. The first Hebrew illuminated book to arouse the interest of modern art historians was a small Haggada that was put up for sale in Sarajevo in the 1890s. The book had been in the possession of one of the families in the Sephardic community of that city. In need of money, the family sought a buyer for the precious volume. The *Sarajevo Haggada*, as it has since been known, soon made it into the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where it is still kept today. Within only a few years, it became the subject of a major publication that attempted to put it within a broader context of both Spanish mediaeval art and Hebrew manuscript illumination.⁹

Like many other illuminated Haggadot from Iberia, the *Sarajevo Haggada* is replete with a full biblical image cycle spanning from Creation to the Israelites' journey through the desert. The Sarajevo cycle is in fact the most extensive one of the entire group. It opens with a double page with eight panels depicting Creation as a continuous narrative (Figs 1 and 2). As I have shown elsewhere together with Shulamit Laderman,¹⁰ at first sight, it echoes numerous Christian parallels. More importantly, it also diverges from those parallels in some significant ways.

⁶ Finkelstein/McCleery 2005, introduction.

⁷ Caskey 2006, 196–198.

⁸ Panofsky 1955.

⁹ Von Schlosser/Müller 1898; Roth 1963.

¹⁰ Kogman-Appel/Laderman 2004; Kogman-Appel 2006, 197–208.

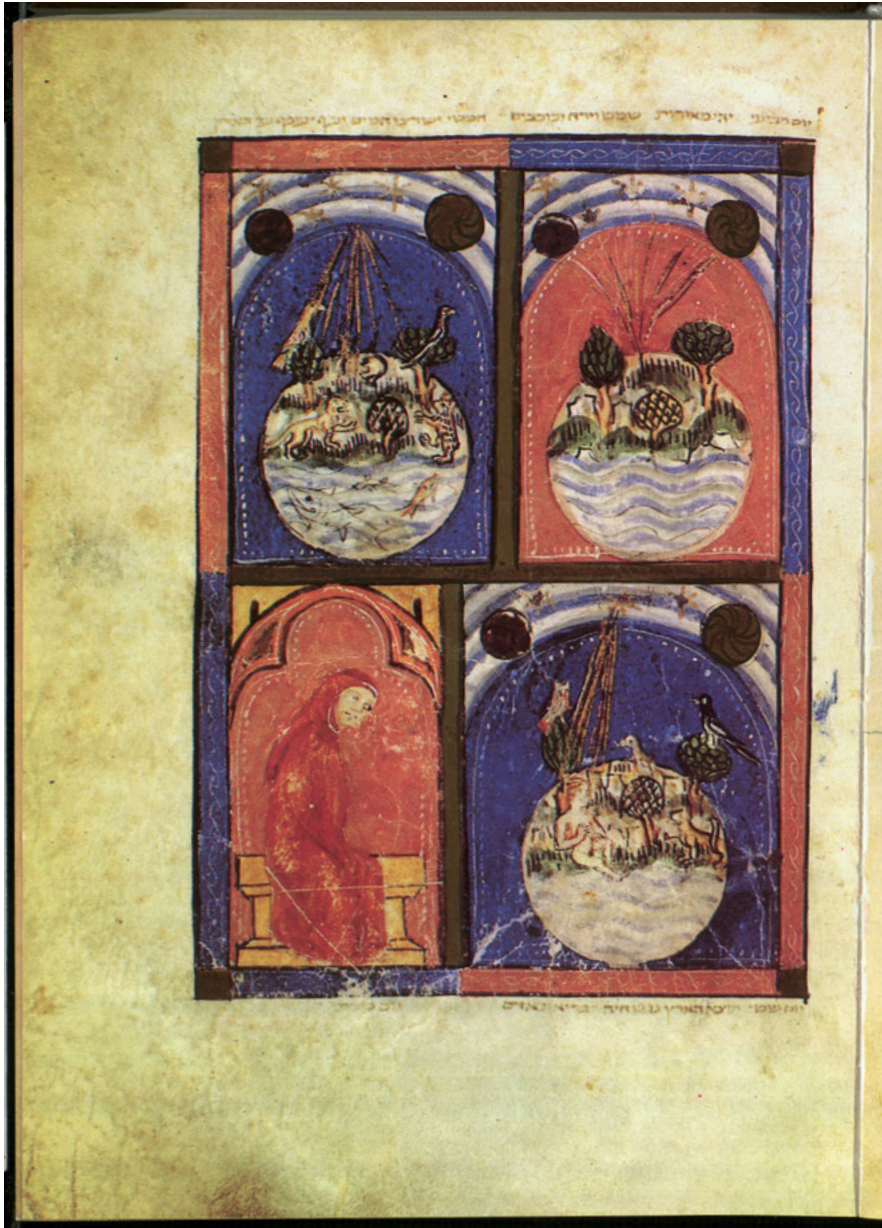


Fig. 1: *Sarajevo Haggada*, Sarajevo, Bosnian National Museum, Crown of Aragon, 14th century, fol. 2r, Creation. Photograph: after Roth 1963.

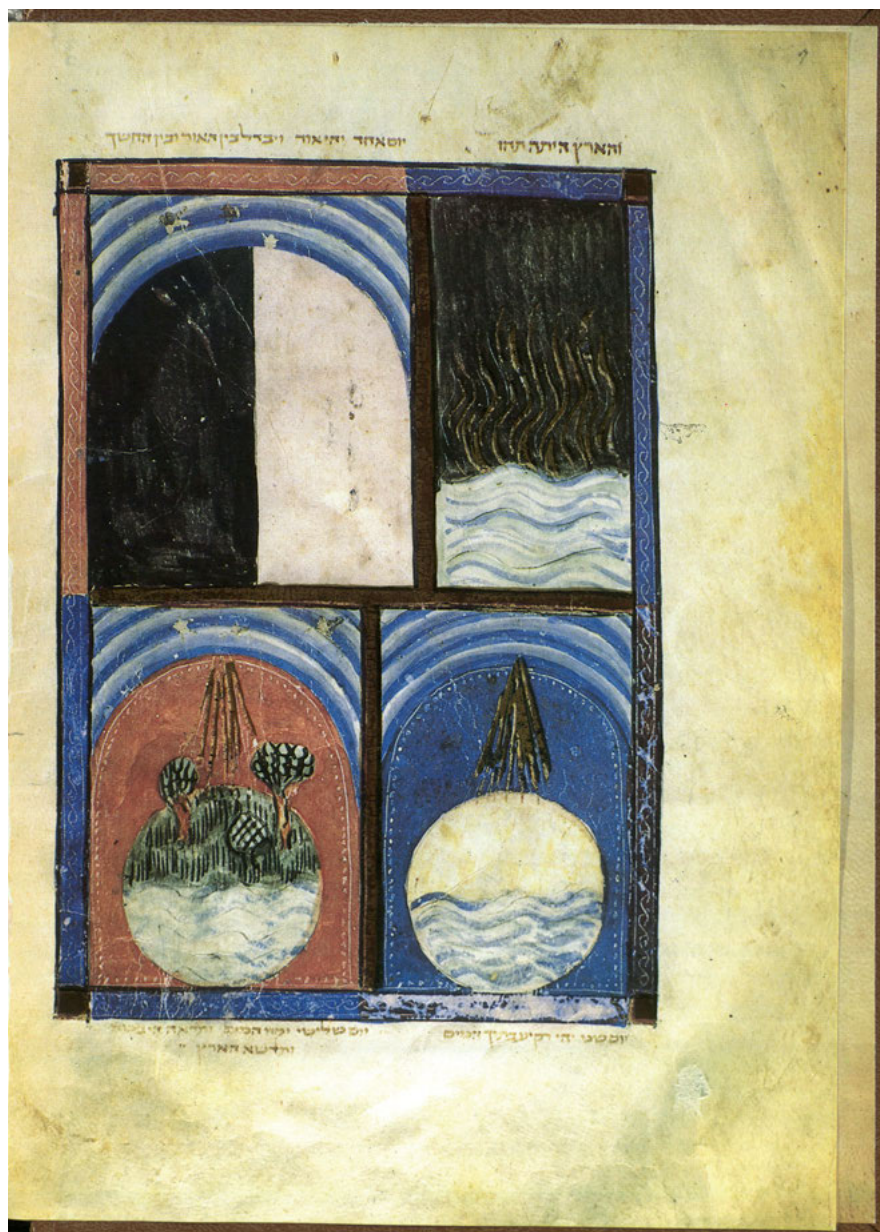


Fig. 2: *Sarajevo Haggada*, Sarajevo, Bosnian National Museum, Crown of Aragon, 14th century, fol. 1v, Creation. Photograph: after Roth 1963.

The tendency in mediaeval Jewish art was to avoid the Creation theme, apparently because of the dominant appearance of the anthropomorphic Logos in countless Christian cycles ever since the early Middle Ages. In view of this deliberate avoidance, the Sarajevo series stands out as a daring enterprise. The cycle does not begin the sequence with the initial act of Creation, as the Christian parallels commonly do. Rather, the Sarajevo series starts with a depiction of the *tohu*, which is commonly referred to in translation as ‘chaos’ or ‘void’.¹¹ In contrast to the shapelessness of the primeval substance, all the other images are marked with a recurring frame: a rectangle with a rounded top. This framing device echoes a symbolic shape, well known in Jewish art since Antiquity, which usually stands for the Ark of Covenant.¹² The shape geometricizes the boxlike ark together with the *kapporet*, the lid, and the cherubs hovering above it. This motif follows a Midrashic legend about God instructing Moses to build the desert Tabernacle after the model of the created Earth.¹³ According to an interpretation by Nachmanides (Moshe ben Naḥman, d. 1270), one of Iberia’s most important Bible exegetes, the initial act of Creation was the calling into being of the shapeliness *tohu*, the primeval substance from which the rest of the Earth and its creatures were made.¹⁴

Methodologically speaking, reading this image through the filter of Midrash and Nachmanides’ exegesis implies consulting religious thinkers, ‘theologians’, and introducing them into dialogue with a pictorial whose full meaning was not clear when we first looked at it. Long a central art-historical tool, this method, which is primarily associated with the scholarship of Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky, was one of the main targets of critique voiced in the ‘New Art History’ discourse of the last four decades.¹⁵ In parallel, the ‘visual turn’ of the recent and current discourse in the historical sciences is aimed at severing the traditional close relationship between religious thought and art history, implying that the visual should be approached primarily on its own terms. In Jeffrey Hamburger’s words:

Whereas theology once claimed supremacy over all the arts, today she no longer serves even as the handmaiden of iconography. In art history, if not always the humanities as a whole,

¹¹ King James Bible, Gen. 1:1.

¹² Revel-Neher 1984.

¹³ For details, see Kogman-Appel/Laderman 2004, 95–105; on the broader meaning of the shape, see Laderman 2013, 88–98.

¹⁴ Moshe ben Naḥman, Chavel (ed.) 1971, 17–20.

¹⁵ Bann 1996.

the 'visual turn' champions the visual at the expense of the discursive, despite the resilience of methods, rooted in structuralism and semiotics, that insist on reading images as 'texts'.¹⁶

However, Hamburger also observes:

In all their variety theology and exegesis have provided (and will continue to provide) an essential point of reference for writing on medieval art, especially when it comes to the identification and interpretation of the subject matter of medieval images. Many of the most complex monuments of medieval art [...] directly engage theological issues.¹⁷

Hamburger wrote these words in a book that seeks to reframe 'the relationship between thinking and seeing, perceptions and the imagination...'.¹⁸ Among other considerations, he points out that mediaeval images, though created in one theological context, remained open to reinterpretation by other viewers and consumers who lived outside of that particular context. He notes that 'if [...] one reads commentaries less for what they say than for how they say it, exegesis and theology can once again shed light on the ways, means and methods of mediaeval images'.¹⁹ Further, Christopher G. Hughes points to the fact that mediaeval scholars were well aware of the exegetical potential of pictorial renderings of ideas. In a survey paper about art and exegesis, he offers a few examples of how mediaeval theologians referred to the visual within exegetical frameworks, especially in the 12th century. One of these theologians, in fact, was a patron: Rudiger of Klosterneuburg, who commissioned the altar piece delivered by Nicholas of Verdun in 1181. An inscription on the altar elucidates the connection between the visual and the exegetical as Rudiger saw it.²⁰

Our example from the *Sarajevo Haggada* eloquently demonstrates how the visual can underscore exegetical notions. When we consider the choice of a forcefully *visible* geometric shape to depict the *exegetical* notion of created shape, the symbolic value that that shape acquired over the centuries, and the undulating, wavy lines that seem to push the frame of the very first image, it is clear that nothing can emphasize shape and shapelessness as well as the visual means employed here. There is certainly a level of visualization that goes far beyond what a text can do in addressing the senses.

¹⁶ Hamburger 2006, 3.

¹⁷ Hamburger 2006, 4.

¹⁸ Hamburger 2006, 3.

¹⁹ Hamburger 2006, 5.

²⁰ Hughes 2006.

Nonetheless, thus far, our reading would be a straightforward application of Panofsky's method. However, Nachmanides' exegesis came into being within a very specific context. Its purpose was simply to provide an explanation of the biblical narrative of Creation. The very first paragraph of his exegetical commentary to the Pentateuch makes his intention clear: 'The simple correct explanation of the verse is as follows: "In the beginning God created the heavens", means He brought forth their matter from nothing'.²¹ Nachmanides used that explanation as part of his fierce struggle against allegorism, which in his view questioned the principle of *creatio ex nihilo* and argued in favor of an eternal world. The emphasis on the primeval act of Creation, the *tohu*, was the way he chose to make that point. Hence, this was not simply an issue of theological discourse; it was a matter of ideology, of cultural identity, and went far beyond a proper understanding of the Book of Genesis. The polemic over allegorism is but one aspect of the controversy over Maimonides' teaching and, hence, was part of a much broader scheme that questioned the philosophical method as such and a whole set of values that were associated with traditional sephardic culture.²² 'The visual language' in Hamburger's words, again, 'relates to the rhetoric of theological argument'.²³

This is not the end of the story of this particular image, though: some seventy years after Nachmanides wrote his commentary, a patron wished to commission an illuminated manuscript and chose to employ a certain visual language in an effort to make the same point in a period during which this very culture struggle had entered yet another phase, one which would last for most of the 14th century.²⁴ Sephardic Haggadot do not have any colophons, but we might thus have found a way to identify the anonymous, unknown patron, at least culturally, if not as a fully defined historical person. With the painting style of the *Sarajevo Haggada* pointing to a location north of the Iberian Peninsula, this patron would most likely have been a wealthy subject of the Crown of Aragon; he would have taken an interest in the scholarship of Nachmanides and his disciples; he would either have been a scholar himself, a late representative of this school, or been close to a mentor or preacher who taught the Nachmanidean worldview.

There are yet more questions: is the image simply a reflection of this or that patron's mindset, or did it turn into a means of communicating a specific leaning within the framework of a culture struggle? Did the patron mean to actively

²¹ Moshe ben Nahman, Chavel (ed.) 1971, 17.

²² See Silver 1965 for the most exhaustive treatment of the controversy and Ben-Shalom 2000 and Berger 2001 for more recent discussions.

²³ Hamburger 2006, 5.

²⁴ Ben-Shalom 2000.

promote a particular message to an audience, or was that simply what he knew about Creation? Who created the visual means of employing the Tabernacle/Temple symbol as the shape of the created world? The artist? How was the theology communicated to the artist? Was the patron a scholar who knew the theology first hand? Or did he simply have some notion of it already, perhaps from a sermon that communicated that message? Or did the artist learn of it from a sermon, and was he the one who suggested that particular visual solution to the patron? The decision to portray the imagery of Creation in a culture that hitherto had almost vocally distanced itself from that imagery (for various reasons) seems to be a particularly meaningful one. Was it the artist's decision? Or the patron's choice?

Another case in point leads us to the Ashkenazi realm, to an image from the *Leipzig Mahzor*, produced in the early 14th century for the community of Worms (Fig. 3). The manuscript is now kept in the University Library in Leipzig (Ms. Voller 1002/I–II).²⁵ The image in the lower margin of the relevant page illustrates the adjacent *piyyuṭ*, a hymn to an unshaken belief in God: *Etan Hikir Emunatkha* ('Firm in Your Belief'). The word *etan* ('firm') is also a name, however, and as such is linked with the figure of a biblical poet whom rabbinic tradition associated with Abraham as the model of steadfast belief. The image does, indeed, offer an exemplary narrative of firm belief and steadfastness, a narrative that is based on one of the most popular Midrashic motifs of all time: Abraham willingly and for the sake of his recently discovered belief in the one God went down into the furnace of Nimrod, the Chaldean king.²⁶

Studying this midrash would thus be the first step toward understanding what is shown in the depiction. Revisiting this image within its early 14th-century Ashkenazi context, however, one cannot help but put it into dialogue with the phenomenon of martyrdom, both active and passive. Martyrdom, death for the sake of 'sanctifying the name of God' (*qiddush ha-shem*), was a dominant motif in Ashkenazic society from at least 1096, when there were several cases of active martyrdom during the persecutions associated with the First Crusade: Facing violence and the threat of forced baptism, several Jews from the Rhineland took their own lives and the lives of their families. These events were chronicled in three different Hebrew accounts authored around the middle of the 12th century and critically edited and translated into German by Eva Haverkamp.²⁷ By the late 13th century, martyrdom — both passive and (particularly) active — had been

²⁵ Katz 1964; Kogman-Appel 2012a.

²⁶ For a discussion of the relevant sources, see Kogman-Appel 2012a, 118–121.

²⁷ Haverkamp 2005.



Fig. 3: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Voller 1102/II, *Mahzor*, Worms c. 1310, fol. 164v, Yom Kippur, evening prayer: Abraham and Nimrod. © Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek.

stylized into a religious and educational ideal.²⁸ As much as this ideal seems to have been dominant, recent scholarship has been able to pinpoint some critical voices against active martyrdom.²⁹ Religious ideals often create role models, and it appears that the story of Abraham in the furnace in fact functioned as a paradigm of passive martyrdom, whereas Abraham in the story of the Binding of Isaac was often seen as a role model for active martyrdom.³⁰ Thus we might consider the image of Abraham at Nimrod's court in the *Leipzig Maḥzor* as a message that promoted passive martyrdom in an environment that stylized the ideal of active martyrdom.

Whose message was it? As I have argued elsewhere, the *Leipzig Maḥzor*, which actually originated in Worms, is a powerful account of communal life, communal cohesion, and communal identity in one of the most important mediaeval communities of Ashkenaz.³¹ Was there a communal leadership that took upon itself the task of guiding the community through a difficult period during which it was challenging the notion of sanctification of the Name of God as one of the principal ideals of Ashkenazi religious culture? Books, at least from a modern point of view, are commonly thought of as personal objects. In the Middle Ages, however, the use of books in the sense of private, silent reading hardly existed. Lavish books, even if privately owned, were often of a public nature. This was particularly true for Ashkenazi *maḥzorim*, which, although privately commissioned and owned, were used within the framework of communities. Kept in their owners' homes, communal *maḥzorim* were carried by the synagogue attendant into the public space of the synagogue on the eve of each holiday, where they were used by the prayer leader. Thus, these books could well have played a role in communicating messages to a broader audience, which went far beyond the modern notion of a book as a personal object.

The public use of these books is especially noteworthy, as synagogal art was primarily ornamental and its role as a message-bearer was thus extremely limited. If we compare the tympanum of the Gothic Altneshul synagogue in Prague from c. 1280 (Fig. 4) with that of any given church portal, we will realize just how meager the synagogue's function as a message-bearer must have been in comparison with any given Gothic church with all its rich decoration. This sheds an interesting light on the notion of book art within the Jewish context, which

²⁸ Cohen 2006; Shepkaru 2006, both listing the vast earlier literature; Goldin 2008.

²⁹ Malkiel 2008, 99–102; Gross 2004; Yuval 2006, 159.

³⁰ Shepkaru 2006, 174–177; Goldin 2008, chap. 13.

³¹ Kogman-Appel 2012a.



Fig. 4: Prague Altneushul, c. 1280, entrance tympanon. Photograph: author.

would, in part, differ from the Christian context, as the Jewish book functioned as a message-bearer for a communal audience.

What does all this say about patronage? Research into patronage is not new. In the early days of the art-historical discipline, it functioned as an alternative to the traditional stylistic and iconographic methods. No student of Gothic art (at least since the work of Emile Mâle) has ever talked about the evolution of Gothic art without thinking seriously about Abbot Suger's role in its development.³² Moreover, the financial resources and consequent power of certain Renaissance patrons, both ecclesiastical and secular, have been of interest to art historians for a long time. Apart from works that originated as the result of royal or papal commissions, serious consideration of patronage as a parameter in the interpretation of subject matter only began more recently when art historians started to revisit their traditional methods. What did patronage mean apart from signing

³² Mâle 1941; Panofsky 1946; Gerson 1986; Rudolph 1990.

a contract and paying the bills? How did it affect the content of any given work of art? As Jill Caskey argues, this aspect of art-historical research was primarily influenced by the Annales School. Furthermore, it is a field that requires interdisciplinary scholarship far beyond theology. Indeed, if we try to deal with patronage in an age of ‘visual turn’, it certainly cannot be done through visual analysis alone. As Caskey explains:

Recently, studies of patronage have characterized art as constitutive of social, political, economic, and other ideas; they have engaged a host of disciplines (such as literary, religious, gender, and other histories) and with them attendant subject formations, foundational texts, and theoretical models.³³

What should be of interest is not simply the identities of patrons, their historical presence, or their financial resources and power, but rather their motives, which often shine through mediaeval works of art. Rulers — kings and queens — had motives that can be grasped easily. Having manifestations of their status created by the most prominent artists of the day was a very natural motive. This was certainly true for popes, bishops, and abbots, and specifically for Abbot Suger, the patron par excellence in mediaeval art history, powerful in his own right, but certainly also an agent of the royal powers of his time. It is obvious, and yet scholars are still struggling to come to terms with this prototype of mediaeval patronage. Was the patron providing the financial means for a work of art as a donor, or was he the agent responsible for the actual appearance of the works of art he made possible? Even though no patrons’ names have come down to us, such questions can and should be posed for the *Sarajevo Haggada* and the *Leipzig Maḥzor* as much as they should be asked in relation to the Abbey of St. Denis or the Sistine Chapel.

As Caskey suggests, it might be helpful to speak of ‘agency’ in addition to patronage, a more flexible notion that would represent a power or the powers standing behind any object’s subject matter. Referred to by Beat Brenk as *concepteur*, such a notion could and should be differentiated from the financial aspect of patronage.³⁴ Is Brenk’s notion of *concepteur* the same as Marc Epstein’s ‘authorship’ — the similarly amorphous notion that refers to the individuals who were responsible for the imagery of the *Birds’ Head Haggada*, the subject of a recent book by Epstein? By ‘authorship’ he means:

³³ Caskey 2006.

³⁴ Brenk 1994; Caskey 2006.

[...] a collaboration between Jewish patrons who sponsored and conceptualized the manuscript (in some cases, it seems, with the aid of rabbinic advisers), and artists (Jewish or non-Jewish) who executed the commission.³⁵

This definition not only borrows its central term, ‘authorship’, from the world of texts, but it also creates a rigid separation among the different roles. How about a ‘rabbinic adviser’ overlapping with the sponsoring patron, or an illuminator producing a book for his own use? How about illuminators working for the free market, as became more and more common from the late 14th century? Some years ago, in a deliberate attempt to blur such boundaries, I suggested referring to the individuals who were responsible for the specific content of any given book’s imagery as ‘designers’. By that I meant to imply that anybody involved in the making of a book, be they scribes, artists, or patrons, would have a say in determining not just the content that was translated from textual concepts (or could be easily retranslated into textual concepts), but the overall appearance of a decorated book.³⁶

With all the difficulty involved in finding the right words — and I am not intimating that the notion of ‘designership’ does not have its flaws — what these various terms connote is that the conception of a work of art was not solely the artist’s. On the other hand, none of these terms really clarifies how active or passive a patron might have been. All these notions, whether we are dealing with *concepteurs*, authors, designers, or agents, suggest ambiguity in regard to the relationship among these different factors. What is important here is that the particular nature of the patron–artist relationship differed from case to case. Even if our terminological choices are driven by carefully analysed concepts, we still struggle when it comes to two very basic points: Who was the patron, and what did he mean to communicate to the artist? Moreover, what did each of them mean to say to the viewer? The fact that these relationships differed in each case turns all of these terms into artificial constructs, and it often seems that they have to be defined and redefined over and over again.

Book art also reflected and reacted to certain social circumstances. Needless to say, those circumstances also related to patronage, ownership, and audiences, and the traditional notion of ‘historical contextualization’ cannot always help one to come to grips with them. Images that speak of social circumstances again raise questions about the message they might or might not have borne, about who conveyed those messages and who received them. As the above discussion

35 Epstein 2011, 6.

36 Kogman-Appel 2006.

of the *Sarajevo Haggada* suggests, the illustrated Haggada is a dominant component in late mediaeval Jewish book history. The first illustrated Haggadot began to appear as separate books in the last few decades of the 13th century in Iberia and Central Europe. As I have noted above, Haggadot usually do not contain colophons, hence the dating and the localization of these manuscripts tend to rely on stylistic evidence and contextual circumstances. The earliest extant examples are a Castilian Haggada, now in the British Library (Ms. Or. 2737), from c. 1280,³⁷ and the *Birds' Head Haggada* in the Israel Museum (Ms. 180/57), in all likelihood produced in the Middle Rhine region around 1300.³⁸

One of the pictorials that appears most frequently in these and later Haggadot depicts the *Seder* ceremony, where the entire family is shown around a richly set table, about to partake of the ritual meal. The recitation of the Haggada as part of the ritual is visualized by the depiction of open books in front of the participants. During most of the 14th century, only men were shown with books, whereas from the end of that century, Ashkenazi Haggada illustrations of the *Seder* table often included women with open books lying in front of them as well. There are no Sephardic illuminated Haggadot extant from this period, so there is no indication whether such iconography, which might point to certain changes in gender-related reading practices, was limited to the Ashkenazi realm or also developed in Iberia.

In a recent paper, I argued that by the mid-15th century, images of women with open books in front of them became frequent enough in Haggada illustration for us to be able to speak of a specific iconographic convention (Fig. 5). I aimed at framing these images within the social norms of the time regarding reading among women and their education as they shine through the written evidence. Hence my conclusions were drawn at that specific meeting point between an iconographic convention and textual evidence.³⁹ None of these conclusions is a particularly 'art-historical' one in the narrow sense of however we define that discipline. More importantly, perhaps, other observations can be drawn on the general methodological level, as they concern the question of how written evidence of certain cultural phenomena can interact with visual references in research into cultural history. In other words, it has become clear that visual material can also function as a historical source, but in conjunction with textual material. It is, in fact, the interaction of the textual and the visual material that makes a fuller historical evaluation possible. On a more specific level, for example, the images of

37 Narkiss/Cohen-Mushlin/Tcherikover 1982, 45–51; Kogman-Appel 2004, 94–95; Harris 2014.

38 See Epstein 2011, chap. 1.

39 Kogman-Appel 2012b.



Fig. 5: Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/15, Franconia, c. 1465, fol. 22r, *seder* table. Photograph: Israel Museum, with permission.

open books in front of women seated around the *Seder* table offer insights into the lives of upper-class Jewish women and their levels of education.

More generally speaking, however, the questions are not just how many women could read and whether there were differences among the different Jewish societies in this respect or whether we can mark any clear divisions concerning such matters in geo-cultural terms. Even though it is scanty, the source material — both textual and visual — nevertheless shows that at some point women's education began to turn into a more broadly accepted norm. The images not only reflect that apparent norm, but also seem to model it. They indicate that literacy for ritual purposes would have been expected of a young woman who would become the wife of a respectable husband, so she could actively participate in home and synagogue rituals. This would, of course, undermine any possible simplistic view such as the text of these manuscripts being directed at men, whereas

the imagery was aimed at illiterate women; apparently, the imagery was aimed at both genders alike.

One of the most intriguing figures of late mediaeval Jewish book culture was Joel ben Simeon. Born around 1420 to 1425, apparently a native of Cologne in the Rhineland, Joel was trained as a scribe and would later refer to himself as a '*scribener*'. At some point around the middle of the 15th century, he moved to Italy, where he received artistic training.⁴⁰ Throughout his long career — he may have been professionally active until 1490⁴¹ — he was involved in the production of numerous manuscripts, more than twenty of which are still extant; it was actually only very recently that two more works were discovered.⁴²

Joel ben Simeon was truly an 'all-rounder' of the 15th-century book trade. He was a scribe and an illuminator who traveled wherever clientele awaited him. Like other Jewish miniaturists, he was active at the intersection of different cultures, the Jewish and the Christian. A native of the German Lands and an immigrant to Italy, he was also familiar with both Italian and German book culture. Finally, he also worked during a particularly interesting stage in the transition from the mediaeval to the early modern period. He saw the printing press come into being and was undoubtedly aware of the social changes wrought by the new medium that affected his trade. Hence the relationship between Joel and his patrons must have been very different from some of the examples I noted above. Considering the overall character of his work and, in general, practices common in the trade at the time, in all likelihood he produced books to be sold on the market, rather than works commissioned by particularly opinionated patrons. Students of the book history of this period are well aware of this progression from the patron-centered mediaeval manuscript to the early modern book made for a wider market.⁴³ There are, indeed, many elements in Joel's visual language that point to a shift in that complex artist-patron-viewer triangle with its ever-changing nature.

Joel was a keen observer of society, who portrayed a whole range of social figures. Depictions of the Four Sons of the Haggada posing their questions, who are thought to represent certain archetypes of society, are typical of his approach, and it seems that Joel made a major contribution to the evolution of this realistic imagery. One of the sons 'does not know how to ask'. Joel often depicted him as a jester, which urges us to look more deeply into the meaning of the images of jesters and the roles they played in mediaeval society. Fools and jesters were

⁴⁰ For an exhaustive bibliography, see Kogman-Appel/Stern 2011, 115–120.

⁴¹ Cohen/Schmelzer 1984.

⁴² Walfish 2015, 19–20; Kogman-Appel 2014, 32.

⁴³ For some examples, see Chartier 1994, chap. 1; Kock/Schlusemann 1997.



Fig. 6: London, British Library, Ms. Add. 14762, *Haggada*, Ulm (?), c. 1460, fol. 9v, lower right corner, The Fourth Son. Photograph: British Library, with permission.



Fig. 7: Washington, Library of Congress, Ms. heb. 1, Haggada, Germany, 1478, fol. 14v, The Preparation of the Passover Meal. Photograph: Library of Congress, with permission.

a regular part of mediaeval and early modern life. They figure prominently in the iconography of illuminated manuscripts and other visual arts.⁴⁴ European monarchs employed court jesters for entertainment. During the Middle Ages, these jokers wore bright, multicolored costumes that stood out visually wherever they appeared. Jesters were either natural fools, being made fun of and, hence, entertaining the folk, or smart and witty outsiders employed to amuse the upper classes and members of the court. Members of this latter group were often ironic and critical, and they enjoyed some freedom of speech. Unconventional in their behavior, they were not part of any traditional system of hierarchies and norms.

It was the foolish jester rather than the witty jester that Joel must have had in mind when he designed the iconography of the son 'who does not know how to ask'. An example can be found in the *London Haggada*, a manuscript that was copied around 1460 in southern Germany and illuminated by Joel (Fig. 6). Perceived as a person lacking wisdom and the ability to acquire knowledge, the popular figure of the jester easily lent itself as a prototype for this character. Joel seems to have been well aware of all the attributes attached to the foolish jester: blasphemous behavior and dubious morality, stupidity, and over-occupation with oneself.

⁴⁴ Otto 2001.

The hood with donkey's ears, for example, is linked to this characterisation. In a mediaeval German song, a donkey wished to appear in the disguise of a lion, but its large ears gave it away. Like the fool, the donkey represented blasphemy, lack of knowledge, and immoral conduct. Another common attribute was a mirror, a *Spiegel* in German, perhaps the root of the name of one of German folklore's most popular jesters, Till Eulenspiegel. Overly fond of himself, the fool looks in the mirror, a mark of pride and blasphemy. Jesters often suffered from an obvious physical impairment, which symbolized — also as some sort of mirror — the less obvious intellectual impairment of society or of the members of the court. Hunchbacks and dwarfs played a central role in public entertainment, and in the *London Haggada* the jester suffers from goiter. This figure thus seems to combine several ambivalent features that mediaeval society associated with the foolish jester.

A goiter was a frequently employed iconographic tool in Joel's work. In two other Haggadot, he illustrated goitrous figures turning a spit with a piece of meat for the Passover meal (Fig. 7). They were perhaps hired to earn a few coins for this job. During the late mediaeval and early modern periods, the imagery of the goitrous figure was quite complex, and it is interesting to try to follow Joel ben Simeon in his decision to participate in that iconographic tradition. Goiter was an endemic condition in alpine areas, common there until the 1920s. In the Middle Ages, it was also occasionally conceived as a disease associated with the wicked. In Christian art, especially north of the Alps, Jesus' tormentors or other wicked individuals were portrayed with goiters. Those suffering from the condition were often stereotyped as enemies.⁴⁵ Sometimes the goitrous were associated with the monstrous races of the East and grouped together with the unnatural and the fabulous at the far edges of the known world.⁴⁶

On the other hand, in 15th-century northern Italy, where goiter was particularly common, as in the Lombard region, for example, the imagery, which by then had become realistic, might have meant something quite different: it might have borne a message of empathy for the sick or have simply been a feature of an individual's particular physical appearance. Within this context, the goiter became part of Joel's very personal motivic repertoire; it is not part of any Jewish iconographic tradition, however.⁴⁷

These imageries of the wicked tormentor of Jesus on the one hand and realistic portraits of patrons from the Lombard region on the other are reminiscent

⁴⁵ Merke 1984.

⁴⁶ For more background on the monstrous races, see Friedmann 1981.

⁴⁷ Kogman-Appel 2015.

of somewhat different mentalities. The notion of the wicked, goitrous individual based on accounts of the monstrous races was relatively prevalent in the area to the north of the Alps, where the condition was not particularly common, well into the 16th century. It is only natural that it could have been associated with the jester there, but the goiter as a typical feature of realistic representation, which appears prominently in Italy and may have been alluded to in the youth who is turning the spit, speaks of a different mindset. Easily associated with the realistic style, these goitrous individuals were based on real-life cases in areas where the condition was part of a pathology shared by many. They seem to deliver a message of empathy and misery, or occasionally but not necessarily of poverty, and may have been intended to arouse feelings of pity in the viewer, not hostility.

Joel ben Simeon was cognizant of these two different states of mind. He had grown up in the Rhineland, where goiters were very seldom seen, so it was only upon his move to Italy that he acquired an awareness of the condition as a real human feature in that environment. Once he achieved some measure of a realistic style, his drawings of goitrous individuals from everyday life became part of an Italian tradition. On the other hand, the inclusion of the goitrous in his artistic repertoire also functions as an iconographic sign of the northern tradition that occasionally included such sufferers in the list of the monstrous races. Apparently, he did not associate them with any malicious features, however. Whatever he really meant to represent, Joel's special status as an artist who lived and worked at the intersections between periods and cultures suggests that this was not any fancy patron's notion, nor an idea of any amorphous authorship or agency. Rather, the fact that this image speaks so eloquently of the manifold backgrounds that he shared indicates that it was Joel speaking directly to his viewers. Moreover, an analysis of his visual language certainly allows us to make that point clearly.

These examples lead to another aspect of the notion of 'visual turn'. Images in general and manuscript illustrations in particular are primary sources of cultural history. But to what end? In many ways, the methodological ground that I am walking on in analysing the images of the goitrous figures in Joel ben Simeon's iconographic repertoire and books in the hands of women reflects an aspect of what Sara Lipton described recently as the 'visual turn' in history.⁴⁸ Or is it the other way around? Do the historical contexts help us to understand the art, its messages, its meaning? Does the historical information create a context for a more thorough reading of the art? Or is the art a primary source employed to come to grips with history? If we think of history not in political terms, but as social

⁴⁸ Lipton 2012.

and particularly as cultural history, does this distinction matter at all? Does a look at the social ambience of Ashkenazi Jews in northern Italy provide a key to understanding Joel ben Simeon? Or is Joel's art a key to better coming to terms with the social and cultural history of Ashkenazi Jews in Italy? Should this not all be considered part of a broader cultural history?

The visual turn in history, then, deals with hierarchies – hierarchies of the textual versus the visual, and vice versa. Lipton argues that an understanding of the visual language of a period can, indeed, change the historical perception of that period, and she offers the example of Late Antiquity and the notion of cultural decline during the waning years of the Roman Empire. The changes in artistic style away from Greco-Roman realism toward abstraction had long been 'judged' as obvious signs of cultural decline and decay. Stiff, abstract figures with large, staring eyes were once held to be signs of a loss of craftsmanship. However, more recent scholarship has shown that 'the large eyes, static stance, and otherworldly upward gaze of such men ... [should be thought] to signal a major cultural shift, a new sense of intimacy between the divine and the earthly'.⁴⁹ This was recognized some decades ago,⁵⁰ but since then, Lipton argues, this understanding has also influenced the way historians approach the late antique period.

The actual existence of mediaeval Jewish art, finally, is another such case in point, as it certainly counterbalances any traditional assumptions of Jewish culture as fundamentally antvisual. But has the fact of the existence of mediaeval Jewish art really affected the way Jewish cultural history is written these days? What we need, then, is a higher level of integration among the disciplines to give us a fuller picture of what art meant in mediaeval mentalities and what we can learn from art about those mentalities.

When the New Art History discourse began to enter the literature some 30 years ago, iconography was soon marked as a particularly conservative branch of art history. However, a shift in the analysis of imagery toward a contextualizing approach can shed some interesting light on Jewish book culture. When not limited to a linear text–image relationship, the iconographic discourse can, among other considerations, tell us a great deal about the dynamic and ever-changing interactions among patrons, scribes, artists, and consumers. The complex interplay between images reframed as message-bearers communicating with contemporary viewers and images employed as historical sources beyond their immediate message is an aspect of cultural research that traditional iconography did not and could not address. A 'social turn' in art history together with

⁴⁹ Lipton 2012, 229.

⁵⁰ Kitzinger 1977.

a 'visual turn' in history can thus be aligned toward an integrative revisiting of Jewish culture in general and Jewish book culture in particular. As the present limited discussion demonstrates, once looked at from points of view that do not simply imply a mere interpretation of the visual as text or a linear understanding of mediaeval art by means of texts, the visual can, indeed, be integrated into a more complete system of multidisciplinary culture research.

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